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M. TULLI CICERONIS

CATO MAIOR DE SENECTUTE

WITH NOTES

BY

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οὐ πόλλ' ἀλλὰ πολύ

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PREFACE

FOR the text of this edition, I have endeavored to utilize the critical material that has appeared since the publication of Müller's edition (Leipsic, 1879). In the commentary the aim has been to give only such information as the student needs for an adequate understanding of the text. All discussion of moot points, whether of text or interpretation, has been relegated to a Critical Appendix.

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C. E. B.

ITHACA, May 1, 1897.

INTRODUCTION

1. Time of Composition of the de Senectute. — With the overthrow of Pompey at Pharsalus in 48 B.C. and the consequent ascendency of Julius Caesar, Cicero had retired completely from the arena of political life. Resigning himself of necessity to the centralizing policy of Caesar, he sought consolation in his ever favorite pursuit of philosophy, and it is to these closing years of his life that his chief philosophical works belong. It is still a disputed question whether the de Senectute was written shortly before or shortly after the assassination of Caesar (March 15, 44 B.C.). Conservative opinion at present tends to recognize the earlier date as the more probable, and to refer the composition of the work either to the last months of 45 B.C. or to the very earliest part (January or February) of 44.

2. Atticus. — The essay is dedicated to Cicero's intimate friend Titus Pomponius Atticus. Atticus was born in 109 B.C., of an old and wealthy equestrian family. From 88 to 65 B.C. he had resided at Athens, devoting his time to literary and philosophical studies. Returning to Rome in 65, he lived on terms of intimacy with the first men of his day. His friendship with Cicero had begun early in life, when the two were students together, and is well attested by the sixteen books of letters (Epistulae ad Atticum) which have come down to us. This correspondence begins in 68 B.C. and continues for twenty-five years, ending only a few months before Cicero's death (Dec. 7, 43 B.C.). Atticus never entered public life. His death occurred eleven years after that of Cicero, in 32 B.C.

3. Occasion of the Dialogue; its Dramatic Date. — Scipio and Laelius meeting at the house of the elder Cato

express their wonder at the cheerfulness with which he bears the burdens of age. Cato's answer leads the young men to request that he will set forth to them the means whereby old age may be made easy and happy. In compliance Cato proceeds to consider in detail the various accusations brought against old age, and to show how groundless these are. The greater part of the work is taken up by Cato's remarks. The participation of Scipio and Laelius in the conversation is so slight that the composition is practically an essay, not a dialogue.

The dramatic date of the conversation is 150 B.C., the year before Cato's death.

4. The Interlocutors:

(*a*) *Cato*. "M. Porcius Cato was a Sabine farmer who rose from the plough to the highest honors of the Republic. Born in 234 B.C., a soldier at seventeen, praetor in 198 B.C., and consul in 195 B.C., a veteran in the fields of war and oratory, he was the last representative of old-fashioned, middle-class conservatism, a bitter foe to new men and new manners, a latter-day Cincinnatus. He had served from the Trasimene to Zama, in Sardinia, Spain, Macedon, with skill, courage, success. Accused forty-four times, accuser as often, the grey-eyed, red-haired man had literally fought his way up with his rough-and-ready wit, his nervous oratory, his practical ability and business habits. For thirty-five years the most influential man in Rome, he had acted in every capacity, as general administrator, and envoy. He was a man whose virtues served his own ends, whose real but well-trumpeted austerity was a stalking-horse for his personal acrimony and ambition. Narrow, reactionary, and self-righteous, as he was honest, active, and well-meaning, a good hater and a persistent critic, at once a bully and a moralist, he took up his text daily against the backslidings and iniquities of the time, against Hellenism, luxury, immorality, and corruption, especially as personified in the Scipios and Flaminini of his day. At bottom he was a genuine man, but it was unlucky that the strongest reforming force should have taken shape in this political gladiator

and typical Roman, this hard-hitting, sharp-witted, keenly commercial, upright, vulgar Philistine." (How and Leigh, History of Rome to the Death of Cæsar, p. 303.)

Cato lived to an advanced old age, dying in 149 B.C., the year after the date of the conversation represented in the de Senectute. Much has been made of the tradition that in his last years he was an assiduous student of Greek. But it is not likely that his study extended to the imaginative works of Greek literature, the masterpieces of Greek poets and philosophers. His interest in Greek was probably solely a practical one, and limited to the use of Greek sources in the composition of his historical work, the Origines. Appreciation for the ideal in literature and art he never possessed; in fact he cherished the intensest conviction that the indulgence of these sentiments involved a distinct menace to the welfare of the state. Hence it is not credible that in his old age he should have renounced the convictions of a lifetime and have turned with enthusiasm to the models of the creative genius of the Greeks. Only six years before his death, besides giving other evidences of his anti-Hellenic spirit, he had been a prime mover in expediting the departure from Rome of three Greek philosophers, Diogenes, Critolaus, and Carneades, who having come to the city on a diplomatic errand were using their leisure to set forth to the Romans the tenets of their respective schools.

It is, then, an ideal Cato that meets us in the de Senectute, not the real Cato of flesh and blood who opposed so stoutly throughout his whole career the tendencies and sentiments for which he is represented by Cicero as cherishing so lofty an enthusiasm.

(*b*) *Scipio.* The Scipio of the de Senectute (the younger Africanus) was a son of Lucius Aemilius Paulus, the conqueror of Macedonia. The name Scipio he took from his adoptive father, P. Cornelius Scipio (son of the great Africanus), adding the surname Aemilianus in token of his actual descent. Scipio was born about 185 B.C., and was therefore about thirty-five years of age at the time of the alleged dialogue. Though he

early began to devote himself to the profession of arms, he possessed also decided literary tastes, and cultivated friendly relations with the contemporary poets Lucilius and Terence. Rumor had it that he even assisted Terence in the composition of his plays. For Cato, Scipio entertained a profound admiration, despite the old hostility between the two families, and is said to have taken that sturdy exemplar of the homely virtues as his own model.

(*c*) *Laelius.* Gaius Laelius, surnamed Sapiens, was of about the same age as Scipio, and was attached to him by ties of the closest friendship, as his father had been attached to the elder Africanus. Hence Laelius is appropriately made the chief speaker in Cicero's essay on friendship (the Laelius or de Amicitia). Laelius held various public offices, but was chiefly distinguished for his enlightened interest in literature and philosophy.

5. **Ennius.** — Ennius, from whose Annals Cato so often quotes in the de Senectute, was born at Rudiae in Calabria in 239 B.C., and died in 169. He was serving as a soldier in the Second Punic War when he attracted the attention and won the friendship of Cato, who brought him to Rome in 204 B.C. Here for a time he gained a livelihood by teaching; later his poetic gifts secured him the powerful support of the elder Africanus and others. Ennius's chief work is his Annales, of which, unfortunately, only fragments have come down to us. This was an historical poem, and dealt with the story of Roman achievement from the earliest times down to and including the stirring events of Ennius's own day.

M. TULLI CICERONIS

CATO MAIOR DE SENECTUTE LIBER

AD T. POMPONIUM ATTICUM

I. 1. **O Tite, si quid te adiuero curamve levasso,**
Quae nunc te coquit et versat in pectore fixa,
Ecquid erit praemi?

Licet enim mihi versibus eisdem affari te, Attice, quibus affatur Flamininum

Ille vir haud magna cum re, sed plenus fidei;

quamquam certo scio non, ut Flamininum,

Sollicitari te, Tite, sic noctesque diesque;

novi enim moderationem animi tui et aequitatem teque non cognomen solum Athenis deportasse, sed humanitatem et prudentiam intellego. Et tamen te suspicor eisdem rebus quibus me ipsum interdum gravius commoveri, quarum consolatio et maior est et in aliud tempus differenda. Nunc autem visum est mihi de senectute aliquid ad te conscribere. 2. Hoc enim onere, quod mihi commune tecum est, aut iam urgentis aut certe adventantis senectutis et te et me ipsum levari volo; etsi te quidem id modice ac sapienter sicut omnia et ferre et laturum esse certo scio. Sed mihi,

cum de senectute vellem aliquid scribere, tu occurrebas dignus eo munere, quo uterque nostrum communiter uteretur. Mihi quidem ita iucunda huius libri confectio fuit, ut non modo omnes absterserit senectutis molestias, sed effecerit mollem etiam et iucundam senectutem. Numquam igitur laudari satis digne philosophia poterit, cui qui pareat, omne tempus aetatis sine molestia possit degere. 3. Sed de ceteris et diximus multa et saepe dicemus; hunc librum ad te de senectute misimus. Omnem autem sermonem tribuimus non Tithono, ut Aristo Ceus (parum enim esset auctoritatis in fabula), sed M. Catoni seni, quo maiorem auctoritatem haberet oratio; apud quem Laelium et Scipionem facimus admirantes, quod is tam facile senectutem ferat, eisque eum respondentem. Qui si eruditius videbitur disputare, quam consuevit ipse in suis libris, attribuito litteris Graecis, quarum constat eum perstudiosum fuisse in senectute. Sed quid opus est plura? Iam enim ipsius Catonis sermo explicabit nostram omnem de senectute sententiam.

II. 4. *Scipio.* Saepe numero admirari soleo cum hoc C. Laelio cum ceterarum rerum tuam excellentem, M. Cato, perfectamque sapientiam, tum vel maxime, quod numquam tibi senectutem gravem esse senserim, quae plerisque senibus sic odiosa est, ut onus se Aetna gravius dicant sustinere.

Cato. Rem haud sane difficilem, Scipio et Laeli, admirari videmini. Quibus enim nihil est in ipsis opis ad bene beateque vivendum, eis omnis aetas gravis est; qui autem omnia bona a se ipsi petunt, eis nihil potest malum videri, quod naturae necessitas afferat. Quo in genere est in primis senectus; quam ut adi-

piscantur omnes optant, eandem accusant adeptam; tanta est stultitiae inconstantia atque perversitas. Obrepere aiunt eam citius, quam putassent. Primum quis coëgit eos falsum putare? qui enim citius adulescentiae senectus quam pueritiae adulescentia obrepit? Deinde qui minus gravis esset eis senectus, si octingentesimum annum agerent quam si octogesimum? praeterita enim aetas quamvis longa cum effluxisset, nulla consolatione permulcere posset stultam senectutem. 5. Quocirca si sapientiam meam admirari soletis (quae utinam digna esset opinione vestra nostroque cognomine!), in hoc sumus sapientes, quod naturam optimam ducem tamquam deum sequimur eique paremus; a qua non veri simile est, cum ceterae partes aetatis bene discriptae sint, extremum actum tamquam ab inerti poëta esse neglectum. Sed tamen necesse fuit esse aliquid extremum et tamquam in arborum bacis terraeque fructibus maturitate tempestiva quasi vietum et caducum, quod ferendum est molliter sapienti. Quid est enim aliud Gigantum modo bellare cum dis nisi naturae repugnare?

6. *Laelius.* Atqui, Cato, gratissimum nobis, ut etiam pro Scipione pollicear, feceris, si, quoniam speramus, — volumus quidem certe, — senes fieri, multo ante a te didicerimus, quibus facillime rationibus ingravescentem aetatem ferre possimus.

Cato. Faciam vero, Laeli, praesertim si utrique vestrum, ut dicis, gratum futurum est.

Laelius. Volumus sane, nisi molestum est, Cato, tamquam longam aliquam viam confeceris, quam nobis quoque ingrediendum sit, istuc, quo pervenisti, videre quale sit.

III. 7. *Cato.* Faciam, ut potero, Laeli. Saepe enim interfui querelis aequalium meorum (pares autem vetere proverbio cum paribus facillime congregantur), quae C. Salinator, quae Sp. Albinus, homines consulares, nostri fere aequales, deplorare solebant, tum quod voluptatibus carerent, sine quibus vitam nullam putarent, tum quod spernerentur ab eis, a quibus essent coli soliti. Qui mihi non id videbantur accusare, quod esset accusandum. Nam si id culpa senectutis accideret, eadem mihi usu venirent reliquisque omnibus maioribus natu, quorum ego multorum cognovi senectutem sine querela, qui se et libidinum vinculis laxatos esse non moleste ferrent nec a suis despicerentur. Sed omnium istius modi querelarum in moribus est culpa, non in aetate. Moderati enim et nec difficiles nec inhumani senes tolerabilem senectutem agunt, importunitas autem et inhumanitas omni aetati molesta est.

8. *Laelius.* Est, ut dicis, Cato; sed fortasse dixerit quispiam tibi propter opes et copias et dignitatem tuam tolerabiliorem senectutem videri, id autem non posse multis contingere.

Cato. Est istud quidem, Laeli, aliquid, sed nequaquam in isto sunt omnia. Ut Themistocles fertur Seriphio cuidam in iurgio respondisse, cum ille dixisset non eum sua sed patriae gloria splendorem assecutum: '*Nec hercule,*' inquit, '*si ego Seriphius essem, nec tu, si Atheniensis esses, clarus umquam fuisses.*' Quod eodem modo de senectute dici potest. Nec enim in summa inopia levis esse senectus potest ne sapienti quidem nec insipienti etiam in summa copia non gravis. 9. Aptissima omnino sunt, Scipio et Laeli,

arma senectutis artes exercitationesque virtutum, quae in omni aetate cultae, cum diu multumque vixeris, mirificos ecferunt fructus, non solum quia numquam deserunt ne extremo quidem tempore aetatis (quamquam id quidem maximum est), verum etiam quia conscientia bene actae vitae multorumque bene factorum recordatio iucundissima est.

IV. 10. Ego Q. Maximum, eum qui Tarentum recepit, senem adulescens ita dilexi, ut aequalem; erat enim in illo viro comitate condita gravitas, nec senectus mores mutaverat; quamquam eum colere coepi non admodum grandem natu, sed tamen iam aetate provectum. Anno enim post consul primum fuerat, quam ego natus sum, cumque eo quartum consule adulescentulus miles ad Capuam profectus sum quintoque anno post ad Tarentum. Quaestor deinde quadriennio post factus sum, quem magistratum gessi consulibus Tuditano et Cethego, cum quidem ille admodum senex suasor legis Cinciae de donis et muneribus fuit. Hic et bella gerebat ut adulescens, cum plane grandis esset, et Hannibalem iuveniliter exsultantem patientia sua molliebat; de quo praeclare familiaris noster Ennius:

> Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.
> Noenum rumores ponebat ante salutem.
> Ergo plusque magisque viri nunc gloria claret.

11. Tarentum vero qua vigilantia, quo consilio recepit! cum quidem me audiente Salinatori, qui amisso oppido fuerat in arce, glorianti atque ita dicenti: '*Mea opera, Q. Fabi, Tarentum recepisti*': '*Certe,*' inquit ridens, '*nam nisi tu amisisses, numquam rece-*

pissem.' Nec vero in armis praestantior quam in toga; qui consul iterum Sp. Carvilio collega quiescente C. Flaminio tribuno plebis, quoad potuit, restitit agrum Picentem et Gallicum viritim contra senatus auctoritatem dividenti; augurque cum esset, dicere ausus est optimis auspiciis ea geri, quae pro rei publicae salute gererentur; quae contra rem publicam ferrentur, contra auspicia ferri. **12.** Multa in eo viro praeclara cognovi; sed nihil admirabilius, quam quo modo ille mortem fili tulit, clari viri et consularis. Est in manibus laudatio, quam cum legimus, quem philosophum non contemnimus? Nec vero ille in luce modo atque in oculis civium magnus, sed intus domique praestantior. Qui sermo, quae praecepta, quanta notitia antiquitatis, scientia iuris augurii! Multae etiam, ut in homine Romano, litterae; omnia memoria tenebat non domestica solum, sed etiam externa bella. Cuius sermone ita tum cupide fruebar, quasi iam divinarem, id quod evenit, illo exstincto fore, unde discerem, neminem.

V. **13.** Quorsus igitur haec tam multa de Maximo? Quia profecto videtis nefas esse dictu miseram fuisse talem senectutem. Nec tamen omnes possunt esse Scipiones aut Maximi, ut urbium expugnationes, ut pedestres navalesve pugnas, ut bella a se gesta, ut triumphos recordentur. Est etiam quiete et pure atque eleganter actae aetatis placida ac lenis senectus, qualem accepimus Platonis, qui uno et octogesimo anno scribens est mortuus, qualem Isocratis, qui eum librum, qui Panathenaicus inscribitur, quarto et nonagesimo anno scripsisse se dicit vixitque quinquennium postea; cuius magister Leontinus Gorgias centum et

septem complevit annos neque umquam in suo studio atque opere cessavit. Qui, cum ex eo quaereretur, cur tam diu vellet esse in vita: '*Nihil habeo,*' inquit, '*quod accusem senectutem.*' Praeclarum responsum et docto homine dignum. **14.** Sua enim vitia insipientes et suam culpam in senectutem conferunt; quod non faciebat is, cuius modo mentionem feci, Ennius:

> Sicut fortis equos, spatio qui saepe supremo
> Vicit Olumpia, nunc senio confectus quiescit.

Equi fortis et victoris senectuti comparat suam. Quem quidem probe meminisse potestis; anno enim undevicesimo post eius mortem hi consules, T. Flamininus et M'. Acilius, facti sunt, ille autem Caepione et Philippo iterum consulibus mortuus est, cum ego quinque et sexaginta annos natus legem Voconiam magna voce et bonis lateribus suasi. Sed annos septuaginta natus (tot enim vixit Ennius) ita ferebat duo, quae maxima putantur, onera, paupertatem et senectutem, ut eis paene delectari videretur.

15. Etenim, cum complector animo, quattuor reperio causas, cur senectus misera videatur: unam, quod avocet a rebus gerendis, alteram, quod corpus faciat infirmius, tertiam, quod privet omnibus fere voluptatibus, quartam, quod haud procul absit a morte. Earum, si placet, causarum quanta quamque sit iusta una quaeque, videamus.

VI. A rebus gerendis senectus abstrahit. Quibus? an eis, quae iuventute geruntur et viribus? nullaene igitur res sunt seniles, quae vel infirmis corporibus animo tamen administrentur? nihil ergo agebat Q. Maximus, nihil L. Paulus, pater tuus, socer optimi

viri, fili mei? ceteri senes, Fabricii, Curii, Coruncanii, cum rem publicam consilio et auctoritate defendebant, nihil agebant? **16**. Ad Appi Claudi senectutem accedebat etiam, ut caecus esset; tamen is, cum sententia senatus inclinaret ad pacem cum Pyrrho foedusque faciendum, non dubitavit dicere illa, quae versibus persecutus est Ennius:

> Quo vobis mentes, rectae quae stare solebant
> Antehac, dementes sese flexere viai?

ceteraque gravissime; notum enim vobis carmen est; et tamen ipsius Appi exstat oratio. Atque haec ille egit septimo decimo anno post alterum consulatum, cum inter duos consulatus anni decem interfuissent censorque ante superiorem consulatum fuisset; ex quo intellegitur Pyrrhi bello grandem sane fuisse; et tamen sic a patribus accepimus. **17**. Nihil igitur afferunt, qui in re gerenda versari senectutem negant, similesque sunt, ut si qui gubernatorem in navigando nihil agere dicant, cum alii malos scandant, alii per foros cursent, alii sentinam exhauriant, ille autem clavum tenens quietus sedeat in puppi. Non facit ea, quae iuvenes, at vero multo maiora et meliora facit. Non viribus aut velocitate aut celeritate corporum res magnae geruntur, sed consilio, auctoritate, sententia; quibus non modo non orbari, sed etiam augeri senectus solet. **18**. Nisi forte ego vobis, qui et miles et tribunus et legatus et consul versatus sum in vario genere bellorum, cessare nunc videor, cum bella non gero; at senatui, quae sint gerenda, praescribo, et quo modo; Karthagini male iam diu cogitanti bellum multo ante denuntio; de qua vereri non ante desinam, quam illam

excisam esse cognovero. **19**. Quam palmam utinam di immortales, Scipio, tibi reservent, ut avi reliquias persequare! cuius a morte tertius hic et tricesimus annus est, sed memoriam illius viri omnes excipient anni consequentes. Anno ante me censorem mortuus est, novem annis post meum consulatum, cum consul iterum me consule creatus esset. Num igitur, si ad centesimum annum vixisset, senectutis eum suae paeniteret? nec enim excursione nec saltu nec eminus hastis aut comminus gladiis uteretur, sed consilio, ratione, sententia. Quae nisi essent in senibus, non summum consilium maiores nostri appellassent senatum. **20**. Apud Lacedaemonios quidem ei, qui amplissimum magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam nominantur senes. Quodsi legere aut audire voletis externa, maximas res publicas ab adulescentibus labefactatas, a senibus sustentatas et restitutas reperietis.

Cedo, quí vestram rem públicam tantam ámisistis tám cito?

Sic enim percontantur in Naevi poëtae Lupo; respondentur et alia et hoc in primis:

Provéniebant orátores noví, stulti, adulescéntuli.

Temeritas est videlicet florentis aetatis, prudentia senescentis.

VII. **21**. At memoria minuitur. Credo, nisi eam exerceas, aut etiam si sis natura tardior. Themistocles omnium civium perceperat nomina; num igitur censetis eum, cum aetate processisset, qui Aristides esset, Lysimachum salutare solitum? Equidem non modo eos novi, qui sunt, sed eorum patres etiam et avos, nec sepulcra legens vereor, quod aiunt, ne memoriam perdam; his enim ipsis legendis in memoriam

redeo mortuorum. Nec vero quemquam senem audivi oblitum, quo loco thesaurum obruisset; omnia, quae curant, meminerunt, vadimonia constituta, quis sibi, cui ipsi debeant. **22.** Quid iuris consulti, quid pontifices, quid augures, quid philosophi senes? Quam multa meminerunt! Manent ingenia senibus, modo permaneat studium et industria, neque ea solum in claris et honoratis viris, sed in vita etiam privata et quieta. Sophocles ad summam senectutem tragoedias fecit; quod propter studium cum rem neglegere familiarem videretur, a filiis in iudicium vocatus est, ut, quem ad modum nostro more male rem gerentibus patribus bonis interdici solet, sic illum quasi desipientem a re familiari removerent iudices. Tum senex dicitur eam fabulam, quam in manibus habebat et proxime scripserat, Oedipum Coloneum, recitasse iudicibus quaesisseque, num illud carmen desipientis videretur. Quo recitato sententiis iudicum est liberatus. **23.** Num igitur hunc, num Homerum, num Hesiodum, Simonidem, Stesichorum, num, quos ante dixi, Isocraten, Gorgian, num philosophorum principes, Pythagoram, Democritum, num Platonem, num Xenocraten, num postea Zenonem, Cleanthem aut eum, quem vos etiam vidistis Romae, Diogenem Stoicum, coëgit in suis studiis obmutescere senectus? an in omnibus his studiorum agitatio vitae aequalis fuit? **24.** Age, ut ista divina studia omittamus, possum nominare ex agro Sabino rusticos Romanos, vicinos et familiares meos, quibus absentibus numquam fere ulla in agro maiora opera fiunt, non serendis, non percipiendis, non condendis fructibus. Quamquam in aliis minus hoc mirum est; nemo enim est tam senex, qui se an-

num non putet posse vivere; sed idem in eis elaborant, quae sciunt nihil ad se omnino pertinere:

Serít arborés, quae alterí saeclo prósint,

ut ait Statius noster in Synephebis. **25**. Nec vero dubitat agricola, quamvis sit senex, quaerenti, cui serat, respondere: *'Dis immortalibus, qui me non accipere modo haec a maioribus voluerunt, sed etiam posteris prodere.'*

VIII. Et melius Caecilius de sene alteri saeculo prospiciente quam illud idem:

Edepól, senectus, sí nil quicquam aliúd viti
Appórtes tecum, quom ádvenis, unum íd sat est,
Quod díu vivendo múlta, quae non vólt, videt.

Et multa fortasse, quae volt! atque in ea, quae non volt, saepe etiam adulescentia incurrit. Illud vero idem Caecilius vitiosius:

Tum equidem ín senecta hoc députo misérrimum,
Sentíre ea aetate éumpse esse odiosum álteri.

Iucundum potius quam odiosum. **26**. Ut enim adulescentibus bona indole praeditis sapientes senes delectantur leviorque fit senectus eorum, qui a iuventute coluntur et diliguntur, sic adulescentes senum praeceptis gaudent, quibus ad virtutum studia ducuntur; nec minus intellego me vobis quam mihi vos esse iucundos. Sed videtis, ut senectus non modo languida atque iners non sit, verum etiam sit operosa et semper agens aliquid et moliens, tale scilicet, quale cuiusque studium in superiore vita fuit. Quid? qui etiam addiscunt aliquid? ut et Solonem versibus gloriantem videmus, qui se cotidie aliquid addiscentem dicit senem

fieri, et ego feci, qui litteras Graecas senex didici; quas quidem sic avide arripui, — quasi diuturnam sitim explere cupiens, — ut ea ipsa mihi nota essent, quibus me nunc exemplis uti videtis. Quod cum fecisse Socratem in fidibus audirem, vellem equidem etiam illud (discebant enim fidibus antiqui), sed in litteris certe elaboravi.

IX. **27**. Nec nunc quidem vires desidero adulescentis (is enim erat locus alter de vitiis senectutis), non plus quam adulescens tauri aut elephanti desiderabam. Quod est, eo decet uti et, quicquid agas, agere pro viribus. Quae enim vox potest esse contemptior quam Milonis Crotoniatae? qui cum iam senex esset athletasque se exercentes in curriculo videret, aspexisse lacertos suos dicitur illacrimansque dixisse: '*At hi quidem mortui iam sunt.*' Non vero tam isti quam tu ipse, nugator! neque enim ex te umquam es nobilitatus, sed ex lateribus et lacertis tuis. Nihil Sex. Aelius tale, nihil multis annis ante Ti. Coruncanius, nihil modo P. Crassus, a quibus iura civibus praescribebantur; quorum usque ad extremum spiritum est provecta prudentia. **28**. Orator metuo ne languescat senectute; est enim munus eius non ingeni solum, sed laterum etiam et virium. Omnino canorum illud in voce splendescit etiam nescio quo pacto in senectute, quod equidem adhuc non amisi, et videtis annos; sed tamen est decorus senis sermo quietus et remissus, facitque persaepe ipsa sibi audientiam diserti senis compta et mitis oratio. Quam si ipse exsequi nequeas, possis tamen Scipioni praecipere et Laelio. Quid enim est iucundius senectute stipata studiis iuventutis? **29**. An ne illas quidem vires

senectuti relinquimus, ut adulescentes doceat, instituat, ad omne offici munus instruat? quo quidem opere quid potest esse praeclarius? Mihi vero et Cn. et P. Scipiones et avi tui duo, L. Aemilius et P. Africanus, comitatu nobilium iuvenum fortunati videbantur, nec ulli bonarum artium magistri non beati putandi, quamvis consenuerint vires atque defecerint. Etsi ista ipsa defectio virium adulescentiae vitiis efficitur saepius quam senectutis; libidinosa enim et intemperans adulescentia effetum corpus tradit senectuti. **30**. Cyrus quidem apud Xenophontem eo sermone, quem moriens habuit, cum admodum senex esset, negat se umquam sensisse senectutem suam imbecilliorem factam, quam adulescentia fuisset. Ego L. Metellum memini puer, qui cum quadriennio post alterum consulatum pontifex maximus factus esset, viginti et duos annos ei sacerdotio praefuit, ita bonis esse viribus extremo tempore aetatis, ut adulescentiam non requireret. Nihil necesse est mihi de me ipso dicere, quamquam est id quidem senile aetatique nostrae conceditur.

X. **31**. Videtisne, ut apud Homerum saepissime Nestor de virtutibus suis praedicet? Tertiam iam enim aetatem hominum videbat, nec erat ei verendum, ne vera praedicans de se nimis videretur aut insolens aut loquax. Etenim, ut ait Homerus, '*ex eius lingua melle dulcior fluebat oratio*,' quam ad suavitatem nullis egebat corporis viribus. Et tamen dux ille Graeciae nusquam optat, ut Aiacis similes habeat decem, sed ut Nestoris; quod si sibi acciderit, non dubitat, quin brevi sit Troia peritura. **32**. Sed redeo ad me. Quartum ago annum et octogesimum;

vellem equidem idem possem gloriari, quod Cyrus, sed tamen hoc queo dicere, non me quidem eis esse viribus, quibus aut miles bello Punico aut quaestor eodem bello aut consul in Hispania fuerim aut quadriennio post, cum tribunus militaris depugnavi apud Thermopylas M'. Glabrione consule, sed tamen, ut vos videtis, non plane me enervavit, non afflixit senectus, non curia vires meas desiderat, non rostra, non amici, non clientes, non hospites. Nec enim umquam sum assensus veteri illi laudatoque proverbio, quod monet mature fieri senem, si diu velis senex esse. Ego vero me minus diu senem esse mallem quam esse senem, ante quam essem. Itaque nemo adhuc convenire me voluit, cui fuerim occupatus. **33**. At minus habeo virium quam vestrum utervis. Ne vos quidem T. Ponti centurionis vires habetis; num idcirco est ille praestantior? Moderatio modo virium adsit, et tantum, quantum potest quisque, nitatur; ne ille non magno desiderio tenebitur virium. Olympiae per stadium ingressus esse Milo dicitur, cum umeris sustineret bovem. Utrum igitur has corporis an Pythagorae tibi malis vires ingeni dari? Denique isto bono utare, dum adsit, cum absit, ne requiras; nisi forte adulescentes pueritiam, paululum aetate progressi adulescentiam debent requirere. Cursus est certus aetatis et una via naturae, eaque simplex, suaque cuique parti aetatis tempestivitas est data, ut et infirmitas puerorum et ferocitas iuvenum et gravitas iam constantis aetatis et senectutis maturitas naturale quiddam habeat, quod suo tempore percipi debeat. **34**. Audire te arbitror, Scipio, hospes tuus avitus Masinissa quae faciat hodie nonaginta natus annos;

cum ingressus iter pedibus sit, in equum omnino non ascendere, cum autem equo, ex equo non descendere, nullo imbri, nullo frigore adduci, ut capite operto sit, summam esse in eo siccitatem corporis, itaque omnia exsequi regis officia et munera. Potest igitur exercitatio et temperantia etiam in senectute conservare aliquid pristini roboris.

XI. Ne sint in senectute vires. Ne postulantur quidem vires a senectute. Ergo et legibus et institutis vacat aetas nostra muneribus eis, quae non possunt sine viribus sustineri. Itaque non modo, quod non possumus, sed ne quantum possumus quidem cogimur. **35**. At multi ita sunt imbecilli senes, ut nullum offici aut omnino vitae munus exsequi possint. At id quidem non proprium senectutis vitium est, sed commune valetudinis. Quam fuit imbecillus P. Africani filius, is qui te adoptavit, quam tenui aut nulla potius valetudine! Quod ni ita fuisset, alterum illud exstitisset lumen civitatis; ad paternam enim magnitudinem animi doctrina uberior accesserat. Quid mirum igitur in senibus, si infirmi sunt aliquando, cum id ne adulescentes quidem effugere possint? Resistendum, Laeli et Scipio, senectuti est, eiusque vitia diligentia compensanda sunt; pugnandum tamquam contra morbum sic contra senectutem; **36**. habenda ratio valetudinis; utendum exercitationibus modicis; tantum cibi et potionis adhibendum, ut reficiantur vires, non opprimantur. Nec vero corpori solum subveniendum est, sed menti atque animo multo magis; nam haec quoque, nisi tamquam lumini oleum instilles, extinguuntur senectute. Et corpora quidem exercitationum defatigatione ingravescunt, animi autem exercendo levantur.

Nam quos ait Caecilius comicos stultos senes, hos significat credulos, obliviosos, dissolutos, quae vitia sunt non senectutis, sed inertis, ignavae, somniculosae senectutis. Ut petulantia, ut libido magis est adulescentium quam senum, nec tamen omnium adulescentium, sed non proborum, sic ista senilis stultitia, quae deliratio appellari solet, senum levium est, non omnium. **37**. Quattuor robustos filios, quinque filias, tantam domum, tantas clientelas Appius regebat et caecus et senex; intentum enim animum tamquam arcum habebat nec languescens succumbebat senectuti; tenebat non modo auctoritatem, sed etiam imperium in suos, metuebant servi, verebantur liberi, carum omnes habebant; vigebat in illa domo patrius mos et disciplina. **38**. Ita enim senectus honesta est, si se ipsa defendit, si ius suum retinet, si nemini emancipata est, si usque ad ultimum spiritum dominatur in suos. Ut enim adulescentem, in quo est senile aliquid, sic senem, in quo est aliquid adulescentis, probo; quod qui sequitur, corpore senex esse poterit, animo numquam erit. Septimus mihi liber Originum est in manibus, omnia antiquitatis monumenta colligo, causarum illustrium, quascumque defendi, nunc cum maxime conficio orationes, ius augurium, pontificium, civile tracto, multum etiam Graecis litteris utor Pythagoreorumque more, exercendae memoriae gratia, quid quoque die dixerim, audierim, egerim, commemoro vesperi. Haec sunt exercitationes ingeni, haec curricula mentis, in his desudans atque elaborans corporis vires non magno opere desidero. Adsum amicis, venio in senatum frequens ultroque affero res multum et diu cogitatas easque tueor animi, non corporis viri-

bus. Quas si exsequi nequirem, tamen me lectulus meus oblectaret ea ipsa cogitantem, quae iam agere non possem; sed ut possim, facit acta vita. Semper enim in his studiis laboribusque viventi non intellegitur quando obrepat senectus. Ita sensim sine sensu aetas senescit nec subito frangitur, sed diuturnitate exstinguitur.

XII. **39**. Sequitur tertia vituperatio senectutis, quod eam carere dicunt voluptatibus. O praeclarum munus aetatis, siquidem id aufert a nobis, quod est in adulescentia vitiosissimum! Accipite enim, optimi adulescentes, veterem orationem Archytae Tarentini, magni in primis et praeclari viri, quae mihi tradita est, cum essem adulescens Tarenti cum Q. Maximo. Nullam capitaliorem pestem quam voluptatem corporis hominibus dicebat a natura datam, cuius voluptatis avidae libidines temere et ecfrenate ad potiendum incitarentur. **40**. Hinc patriae proditiones, hinc rerum publicarum eversiones, hinc cum hostibus clandestina colloquia nasci, nullum denique scelus, nullum malum facinus esse, ad quod suscipiendum non libido voluptatis impelleret, stupra vero et adulteria et omne tale flagitium nullis excitari aliis illecebris nisi voluptatis; cumque homini sive natura sive quis deus nihil mente praestabilius dedisset, huic divino muneri ac dono nihil tam esse inimicum quam voluptatem; **41**. nec enim libidine dominante temperantiae locum esse, neque omnino in voluptatis regno virtutem posse consistere. Quod quo magis intellegi posset, fingere animo iubebat tanta incitatum aliquem voluptate corporis, quanta percipi posset maxima; nemini censebat fore dubium, quin tam diu, dum ita gauderet, nihil agitare mente,

nihil ratione, nihil cogitatione consequi posset. Quocirca nihil esse tam detestabile tamque pestiferum quam voluptatem, siquidem ea, cum maior esset atque longinquior, omne animi lumen exstingueret. Haec cum C. Pontio Samnite, patre eius, a quo Caudino proelio Sp. Postumius, T. Veturius consules superati sunt, locutum Archytam Nearchus Tarentinus hospes noster, qui in amicitia populi Romani permanserat, se a maioribus natu accepisse dicebat, cum quidem ei sermoni interfuisset Plato Atheniensis, quem Tarentum venisse L. Camillo, Ap. Claudio consulibus reperio. **42**. Quorsus hoc? Ut intellegeretis, si voluptatem aspernari ratione et sapientia non possemus, magnam habendam esse senectuti gratiam, quae efficeret, ut id non liberet, quod non oporteret. Impedit enim consilium voluptas, rationi inimica est, mentis, ut ita dicam, praestringit oculos nec habet ullum cum virtute commercium. Invitus feci, ut fortissimi viri T. Flaminini fratrem, L. Flamininum, e senatu eicerem septem annis post, quam consul fuisset, sed notandam putavi libidinem. Ille enim, cum esset consul in Gallia, exoratus in convivio a scorto est, ut securi feriret aliquem eorum, qui in vinculis essent damnati rei capitalis. Hic Tito fratre suo censore, qui proximus ante me fuerat, elapsus est; mihi vero et Flacco neutiquam probari potuit tam flagitiosa et tam perdita libido, quae cum probro privato coniungeret imperi dedecus.

XIII. **43**. Saepe audivi ex maioribus natu, qui se porro pueros a senibus audisse dicebant, mirari solitum C. Fabricium, quod, cum apud regem Pyrrhum legatus esset, audisset a Thessalo Cinea esse quendam Athenis.

qui se sapientem profiteretur, eumque dicere omnia, quae faceremus, ad voluptatem esse referenda. Quod ex eo audientes M'. Curium et Ti. Coruncanium optare solitos, ut id Samnitibus ipsique Pyrrho persuaderetur, quo facilius vinci possent, cum se voluptatibus dedissent. Vixerat M'. Curius cum P. Decio, qui quinquennio ante eum consulem se pro re publica quarto consulatu devoverat; norat eundem Fabricius, norat Coruncanius; qui cum ex sua vita, tum ex eius, quem dico, Deci, facto iudicabant esse profecto aliquid natura pulchrum atque praeclarum, quod sua sponte peteretur, quodque spreta et contempta voluptate optimus quisque sequeretur. **44**. Quorsus igitur tam multa de voluptate? Quia non modo vituperatio nulla, sed etiam summa laus senectutis est, quod ea voluptates nullas magnopere desiderat. Caret epulis exstructisque mensis et frequentibus poculis, caret ergo etiam vinulentia et cruditate et insomniis. Sed si aliquid dandum est voluptati, quoniam eius blanditiis non facile obsistimus (divine enim Plato escam malorum appellat voluptatem, quod ea videlicet homines capiantur ut pisces), quamquam immoderatis epulis caret senectus, modicis tamen conviviis delectari potest. C. Duellium M. F., qui Poenos classe primus devicerat, redeuntem a cena senem saepe videbam puer; delectabatur cereo funali et tibicine, quae sibi nullo exemplo privatus sumpserat; tantum licentiae dabat gloria. **45**. Sed quid ego alios? ad me ipsum iam revertar. Primum habui semper sodales. Sodalitates autem Magnae Matris me quaestore constitutae sunt sacris Idaeis acceptis. Epulabar igitur cum sodalibus omnino modice, sed erat quidam fervor aetatis;

qua progrediente omnia fiunt in dies mitiora. Neque enim ipsorum conviviorum delectationem voluptatibus corporis magis quam coetu amicorum et sermonibus metiebar. Bene enim maiores accubitionem epularem amicorum, quia vitae coniunctionem haberet, convivium nominaverunt, melius quam Graeci, qui hoc idem tum compotationem, tum concenationem vocant, ut, quod in eo genere minimum est, id maxime probare videantur.

XIV. **46.** Ego vero propter sermonis delectationem tempestivis quoque conviviis delector, nec cum aequalibus solum, qui pauci admodum restant, sed cum vestra etiam aetate atque vobiscum, habeoque senectuti magnam gratiam, quae mihi sermonis aviditatem auxit, potionis et cibi sustulit. Quodsi quem etiam ista delectant (ne omnino bellum indixisse videar voluptati, cuius est fortasse quidam naturalis modus), non intellego ne in istis quidem ipsis voluptatibus carere sensu senectutem. Me vero et magisteria delectant a maioribus instituta et is sermo, qui more maiorum a summo adhibetur in poculo, et pocula, sicut in Symposio Xenophontis est, minuta atque rorantia, et refrigeratio aestate et vicissim aut sol aut ignis hibernus; quae quidem etiam in Sabinis persequi soleo conviviumque vicinorum cotidie compleo, quod ad multam noctem, quam maxime possumus, vario sermone producimus. **47.** At non est voluptatum tanta quasi titillatio in senibus. Credo, sed ne desideratio quidem; nihil autem est molestum, quod non desideres. Bene Sophocles, cum ex eo quidam iam affecto aetate quaereret, utereturne rebus veneriis: '*Di meliora!*' inquit; '*libenter vero istinc sicut ab domino agresti ac furioso*

profugi.' Cupidis enim rerum talium odiosum fortasse et molestum est carere, satiatis vero et expletis iucundius est carere quam frui. Quamquam non caret is qui non desiderat; ergo hoc non desiderare dico esse iucundius. **48.** Quodsi istis ipsis voluptatibus bona aetas fruitur libentius, primum parvulis fruitur rebus, ut diximus, deinde eis, quibus senectus, etiamsi non abunde potitur, non omnino caret. Ut Turpione Ambivio magis delectatur, qui in prima cavea spectat, delectatur tamen etiam, qui in ultima, sic adulescentia voluptates propter intuens magis fortasse laetatur, sed delectatur etiam senectus procul eas spectans tantum quantum sat est. **49.** At illa quanti sunt, animum tamquam emeritis stipendiis libidinis, ambitionis, contentionis, inimicitiarum, cupiditatum omnium secum esse secumque, ut dicitur, vivere! Si vero habet aliquod tamquam pabulum studi atque doctrinae, nihil est otiosa senectute iucundius. Exerceri videbamus in studio dimetiendi paene caeli atque terrae C. Gallum, familiarem patris tui, Scipio; quotiens illum lux noctu aliquid describere ingressum, quotiens nox oppressit, cum mane coepisset! quam delectabat eum defectiones solis et lunae multo ante nobis praedicere! **50.** Quid in levioribus studiis, sed tamen acutis? quam gaudebat bello suo Punico Naevius! quam Truculento Plautus, quam Pseudolo! Vidi etiam senem Livium; qui cum sex annis ante quam ego natus sum, fabulam docuisset Centone Tuditanoque consulibus, usque ad adulescentiam meam processit aetate. Quid de P. Licini Crassi et pontificii et civilis iuris studio loquar aut de huius P. Scipionis, qui his paucis diebus pontifex maximus factus est? Atque eos omnes,

quos commemoravi, his studiis flagrantes senes vidimus; M. vero Cethegum, quem recte 'Suadae medullam' dixit Ennius, quanto studio exerceri in dicendo videbamus etiam senem! Quae sunt igitur epularum aut ludorum aut scortorum voluptates cum his voluptatibus comparandae? Atque haec quidem studia doctrinae; quae quidem prudentibus et bene institutis pariter cum aetate crescunt, ut honestum illud Solonis sit, quod ait versiculo quodam, ut ante dixi, senescere se multa in dies addiscentem, qua voluptate animi nulla certe potest esse maior.

XV. **51**. Venio nunc ad voluptates agricolarum, quibus ego incredibiliter delector; quae nec ulla impediuntur senectute et mihi ad sapientis vitam proxime videntur accedere. Habent enim rationem cum terra, quae numquam recusat imperium nec umquam sine usura reddit, quod accepit, sed alias minore, plerumque maiore cum faenore. Quamquam me quidem non fructus modo, sed etiam ipsius terrae vis ac natura delectat. Quae cum gremio mollito ac subacto sparsum semen excepit, primum id occaecatum cohibet, ex quo occatio, quae hoc efficit, nominata est, deinde tepefactum vapore et compressu suo diffundit et elicit herbescentem ex eo viriditatem, quae nixa fibris stirpium sensim adulescit culmoque erecta geniculato vaginis iam quasi pubescens includitur; e quibus cum emersit, fundit frugem spici ordine structam et contra avium minorum morsus munitur vallo aristarum. **52**. Quid ego vitium ortus, satus, incrementa commemorem? Satiari delectatione non possum, ut meae senectutis requietem oblectamentumque noscatis. Omitto enim vim ipsam omnium, quae generantur e

terra; quae ex fici tantulo grano aut ex acini vinaceo aut ex ceterarum frugum aut stirpium minutissimis seminibus tantos truncos ramosque procreet. Malleoli, plantae, sarmenta, viviradices, propagines nonne efficiunt, ut quemvis cum admiratione delectent? Vitis quidem, quae natura caduca est et, nisi fulta est, fertur ad terram, eadem, ut se erigat, claviculis suis quasi manibus, quicquid est nacta, complectitur; quam serpentem multiplici lapsu et erratico ferro amputans coërcet ars agricolarum, ne silvescat sarmentis et in omnes partes nimia fundatur. **53.** Itaque ineunte vere in eis, quae relicta sunt, exsistit tamquam ad articulos sarmentorum ea, quae gemma dicitur, a qua oriens uva se ostendit, quae et suco terrae et calore solis augescens primo est peracerba gustatu, dein maturata dulcescit vestitaque pampinis nec modico tepore caret et nimios solis defendit ardores. Qua quid potest esse cum fructu laetius, tum aspectu pulchrius? Cuius quidem non utilitas me solum, ut ante dixi, sed etiam cultura et natura ipsa delectat, adminiculorum ordines, capitum iugatio, religatio et propagatio vitium, sarmentorum ea, quam dixi, aliorum amputatio, aliorum immissio. Quid ego irrigationes, quid fossiones agri repastinationesque proferam, quibus fit multo terra fecundior? quid de utilitate loquar stercorandi? **54.** Dixi in eo libro, quem de rebus rusticis scripsi; de qua doctus Hesiodus ne verbum quidem fecit, cum de cultura agri scriberet. At Homerus, qui multis, ut mihi videtur, ante saeculis fuit, Laërtam lenientem desiderium, quod capiebat e filio, colentem agrum et eum stercorantem facit. Nec vero segetibus solum et pratis et vineis et arbustis res rusticae laetae

sunt, sed hortis etiam et pomariis, tum pecudum pastu, apium examinibus, florum omnium varietate. Nec consitiones modo delectant, sed etiam insitiones, quibus nihil invenit agri cultura sollertius.

XVI. **55.** Possum persequi permulta oblectamenta rerum rusticarum, sed ea ipsa, quae dixi, sentio fuisse longiora. Ignoscetis autem; nam et studio rusticarum rerum provectus sum, et senectus est natura loquacior, ne ab omnibus eam vitiis videar vindicare. Ergo in hac vita M'. Curius, cum de Samnitibus, de Sabinis, de Pyrrho triumphasset, consumpsit extremum tempus aetatis. Cuius quidem ego villam contemplans (abest enim non longe a mea) admirari satis non possum vel hominis ipsius continentiam vel temporum disciplinam. Curio ad focum sedenti magnum auri pondus Samnites cum attulissent, repudiati sunt; non enim aurum habere praeclarum sibi videri dixit, sed eis, qui haberent aurum, imperare. **56.** Poteratne tantus animus efficere non iucundam senectutem? Sed venio ad agricolas, ne a me ipso recedam. In agris erant tum senatores, id est senes, siquidem aranti L. Quinctio Cincinnato nuntiatum est eum dictatorem esse factum; cuius dictatoris iussu magister equitum C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Maelium regnum appetentem occupatum interemit. A villa in senatum arcessebatur et Curius et ceteri senes, ex quo, qui eos arcessebant, viatores nominati sunt. Num igitur horum senectus miserabilis fuit, qui se agri cultione oblectabant? Mea quidem sententia haud scio an nulla beatior possit esse, neque solum officio, quod hominum generi universo cultura agrorum est salutaris, sed et delectatione, quam dixi, et saturitate copiaque rerum omnium, quae ad

victum hominum, ad cultum etiam deorum pertinent, ut, quoniam haec quidam desiderant, in gratiam iam cum voluptate redeamus. Semper enim boni assiduique domini referta cella vinaria, olearia, etiam penaria est, villaque tota locuples est, abundat porco, haedo, agno, gallina, lacte, caseo, melle. Iam hortum ipsi agricolae succidiam alteram appellant. Conditiora facit haec supervacaneis etiam operis aucupium atque venatio. **57.** Quid de pratorum viriditate aut arborum ordinibus aut vinearum olivetorumve specie plura dicam? brevi praecidam: Agro bene culto nihil potest esse nec usu uberius nec specie ornatius; ad quem fruendum non modo non retardat, verum etiam invitat atque allectat senectus. Ubi enim potest illa aetas aut calescere vel apricatione melius vel igni aut vicissim umbris aquisve refrigerari salubrius? **58.** Sibi habeant igitur arma, sibi equos, sibi hastas, sibi clavam et pilam, sibi natationes atque cursus, nobis senibus ex lusionibus multis talos relinquant et tesseras, — id ipsum ut lubebit, quoniam sine eis beata esse senectus potest.

XVII. **59.** Multas ad res perutiles Xenophontis libri sunt; quos legite, quaeso, studiose, ut facitis. Quam copiose ab eo agri cultura laudatur in eo libro, qui est de tuenda re familiari, qui Oeconomicus inscribitur! Atque ut intellegatis nihil ei tam regale videri quam studium agri colendi, Socrates in eo libro loquitur cum Critobulo Cyrum minorem, Persarum regem, praestantem ingenio atque imperi gloria, cum Lysander Lacedaemonius, vir summae virtutis, venisset ad eum Sardis eique dona a sociis attulisset, et ceteris in rebus comem erga Lysandrum atque humanum fuisse

et ei quendam consaeptum agrum diligenter consitum ostendisse. Cum autem admiraretur Lysander et proceritates arborum et directos in quincuncem ordines et humum subactam atque puram et suavitatem odorum, qui afflarentur ex floribus, tum eum dixisse mirari se non modo diligentiam, sed etiam sollertiam eius, a quo essent illa dimensa atque discripta; et Cyrum respondisse: '*Atqui ego ista sum omnia dimensus; mei sunt ordines, mea discriptio, multae etiam istarum arborum mea manu sunt satae.*' Tum Lysandrum intuentem purpuram eius et nitorem corporis ornatumque Persicum multo auro multisque gemmis dixisse: '*Rite vero te, Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuae fortuna coniuncta est.*' **60**. Hac igitur fortuna frui licet senibus, nec aetas impedit, quo minus et ceterarum rerum et in primis agri colendi studia teneamus usque ad ultimum tempus senectutis. M. quidem Valerium Corvinum accepimus ad centesimum annum perduxisse, cum esset, acta iam aetate, in agris eosque coleret; cuius inter primum et sextum consulatum sex et quadraginta anni interfuerunt. Ita, quantum spatium aetatis maiores ad senectutis initium esse voluerunt, tantus illi cursus honorum fuit; atque huius extrema aetas hoc beatior quam media, quod auctoritatis habebat plus, laboris minus; apex est autem senectutis auctoritas. **61**. Quanta fuit in L. Caecilio Metello, quanta in A. Atilio Calatino! in quem illud elogium:

Hunc unum plurimae consentiunt gentes
Populi primarium fuisse virum.

Notum est totum carmen incisum in sepulcro. Iure igitur gravis, cuius de laudibus omnium esset fama con-

sentiens. Quem virum nuper P. Crassum, pontificem maximum, quem postea M. Lepidum, eodem sacerdotio praeditum, vidimus! Quid de Paulo aut Africano loquar aut, ut iam ante, de Maximo? quorum non in sententia solum, sed etiam in nutu residebat auctoritas. Habet senectus honorata praesertim tantam auctoritatem, ut ea pluris sit quam omnes adulescentiae voluptates.

XVIII. **62.** Sed in omni oratione mementote eam me senectutem laudare, quae fundamentis adulescentiae constituta sit. Ex quo efficitur, id quod ego magno quondam cum assensu omnium dixi, miseram esse senectutem, quae se oratione defenderet. Non cani nec rugae repente auctoritatem arripere possunt, sed honeste acta superior aetas fructus capit auctoritatis extremos. **63.** Haec enim ipsa sunt honorabilia, quae videntur levia atque communia, salutari, appeti, decedi, assurgi, deduci, reduci, consuli; quae et apud nos et in aliis civitatibus, ut quaeque optime morata est, ita diligentissime observantur. Lysandrum Lacedaemonium, cuius modo feci mentionem, dicere aiunt solitum Lacedaemonem esse honestissimum domicilium senectutis; nusquam enim tantum tribuitur aetati, nusquam est senectus honoratior. Quin etiam memoriae proditum est, cum Athenis ludis quidam in theatrum grandis natu venisset, magno consessu locum nusquam ei datum a suis civibus; cum autem ad Lacedaemonios accessisset, qui legati cum essent, certo in loco consederant, consurrexisse omnes illi dicuntur et senem sessum recepisse. **64.** Quibus cum a cuncto consessu plausus esset multiplex datus, dixisse ex eis quendam Athenienses scire, quae recta essent, sed facere nolle.

Multa in vestro collegio praeclara, sed hoc, de quo agimus, in primis, quod, ut quisque aetate antecedit, ita sententiae principatum tenet, neque solum honore antecedentibus, sed eis etiam, qui cum imperio sunt, maiores natu augures anteponuntur. Quae sunt igitur voluptates corporis cum auctoritatis praemiis comparandae? quibus qui splendide usi sunt, ei mihi videntur fabulam aetatis peregisse nec tamquam inexercitati histriones in extremo actu corruisse.

65. At sunt morosi et anxii et iracundi et difficiles senes. Si quaerimus, etiam avari; sed haec morum vitia sunt, non senectutis. Ac morositas tamen et ea vitia, quae dixi, habent aliquid excusationis non illius quidem iustae, sed quae probari posse videatur; contemni se putant, despici, illudi; praeterea in fragili corpore odiosa omnis offensio est. Quae tamen omnia dulciora fiunt et moribus bonis et artibus, idque cum in vita, tum in scaena intellegi potest ex eis fratribus, qui in Adelphis sunt. Quanta in altero diritas, in altero comitas! Sic se res habet: ut enim non omne vinum, sic non omnis natura vetustate coacescit. Severitatem in senectute probo, sed eam, sicut alia, modicam, acerbitatem nullo modo. **66.** Avaritia vero senilis quid sibi velit, non intellego; potest enim quicquam esse absurdius quam, quo viae minus restet, eo plus viatici quaerere?

XIX. Quarta restat causa, quae maxime angere atque sollicitam habere nostram aetatem videtur, appropinquatio mortis, quae certe a senectute non potest esse longe. O miserum senem, qui mortem contemnendam esse in tam longa aetate non viderit! quae aut plane neglegenda est, si omnino exstinguit

animum, aut etiam optanda, si aliquo eum deducit, ubi sit futurus aeternus. **67**. Atqui tertium certe nihil inveniri potest; quid igitur timeam, si aut non miser post mortem aut beatus etiam futurus sum? Quamquam quis est tam stultus, quamvis sit adulescens, cui sit exploratum se ad vesperum esse victurum? Quin etiam aetas illa multo plures quam nostra casus mortis habet; facilius in morbos incidunt adulescentes, gravius aegrotant, tristius curantur. Itaque pauci veniunt ad senectutem; quod ni ita accideret, melius et prudentius viveretur. Mens enim et ratio et consilium in senibus est; qui si nulli fuissent, nullae omnino civitates fuissent. Sed redeo ad mortem impendentem. Quod est istud crimen senectutis, cum id ei videatis cum adulescentia esse commune? **68**. Sensi ego in optimo filio, tu in exspectatis ad amplissimam dignitatem fratribus, Scipio, mortem omni aetati esse communem. At sperat adulescens diu se victurum, quod sperare idem senex non potest. Insipienter sperat. Quid enim stultius quam incerta pro certis habere, falsa pro veris? At senex ne quod speret quidem habet. At est eo meliore condicione quam adulescens, quoniam id, quod ille sperat, hic consecutus est; ille vult diu vivere, hic diu vixit. **69**. Quamquam, o di boni! quid est in hominis natura diu? Da enim summum tempus, exspectemus Tartessiorum regis aetatem (fuit enim, ut scriptum video, Arganthonius quidam Gadibus, qui octoginta regnavit annos, centum viginti vixit) — sed mihi ne diuturnum quidem quicquam videtur, in quo est aliquid extremum. Cum enim id advenit, tum illud, quod praeteriit, effluxit; tantum remanet, quod virtute et recte factis consecutus sis;

horae quidem cedunt et dies et menses et anni, nec praeteritum tempus umquam revertitur, nec, quid sequatur, sciri potest; quod cuique temporis ad vivendum datur, eo debet esse contentus. **70.** Neque enim histrioni, ut placeat, peragenda fabula est, modo, in quocumque fuerit actu, probetur, neque sapienti usque ad 'Plaudite' veniendum est. Breve enim tempus aetatis satis longum est ad bene honesteque vivendum; sin processerit longius, non magis dolendum est, quam agricolae dolent praeterita verni temporis suavitate aestatem autumnumque venisse. Ver enim tamquam adulescentiam significat ostenditque fructus futuros, reliqua autem tempora demetendis fructibus et percipiendis accommodata sunt. **71.** Fructus autem senectutis est, ut saepe dixi, ante partorum bonorum memoria et copia. Omnia autem, quae secundum naturam fiunt, sunt habenda in bonis. Quid est autem tam secundum naturam quam senibus emori? quod idem contingit adulescentibus adversante et repugnante natura. Itaque adulescentes mihi mori sic videntur, ut cum aquae multitudine flammae vis opprimitur, senes autem sic, ut cum sua sponte nulla adhibita vi consumptus ignis exstinguitur; et quasi poma ex arboribus, cruda si sunt, vi evelluntur, si matura et cocta, decidunt, sic vitam adulescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas; quae quidem mihi tam iucunda est, ut, quo propius ad mortem accedam, quasi terram videre videar aliquandoque in portum ex longa navigatione esse venturus.

XX. **72.** Senectutis autem nullus est certus terminus, recteque in ea vivitur, quoad munus offici exsequi et tueri possis mortemque contemnere; ex quo fit, ut

animosior etiam senectus sit quam adulescentia et fortior. Hoc illud est, quod Pisistrato tyranno a Solone responsum est, cum illi quaerenti, qua tandem re fretus sibi tam audaciter obsisteret, respondisse dicitur; '*Senectute.*' Sed vivendi est finis optimus, cum integra mente certisque sensibus opus ipsa suum eadem, quae coagmentavit, natura dissolvit. Ut navem, ut aedificium idem destruit facillime, qui construxit, sic hominem eadem optime, quae conglutinavit, natura dissolvit. Iam omnis conglutinatio recens aegre, inveterata facile divellitur. Ita fit, ut illud breve vitae reliquum nec avide appetendum senibus nec sine causa deserendum sit; **73.** vetatque Pythagoras iniussu imperatoris, id est dei, de praesidio et statione vitae decedere. Solonis quidem sapientis elogium est, quo se negat velle suam mortem dolore amicorum et lamentis vacare. Vult, credo, se esse carum suis; sed haud scio an melius Ennius:

> Nemo me dacrumis decoret neque funera fletu
> Faxit.

Non censet lugendam esse mortem, quam immortalitas consequatur. **74.** Iam sensus moriendi aliquis esse potest, isque ad exiguum tempus, praesertim seni, post mortem quidem sensus aut optandus aut nullus est. Sed hoc meditatum ab adulescentia debet esse, mortem ut neglegamus, sine qua meditatione tranquillo animo esse nemo potest. Moriendum enim certe est, et incertum an hoc ipso die. Mortem igitur omnibus horis impendentem timens qui poterit animo consistere? De qua non ita longa disputatione opus esse videtur, cum recorder non L. Brutum, qui in liberanda patria

est interfectus, **75.** non duos Decios, qui ad voluntariam mortem cursum equorum incitaverunt, non M. Atilium, qui ad supplicium est profectus, ut fidem hosti datam conservaret, non duos Scipiones, qui iter Poenis vel corporibus suis obstruere voluerunt, non avum tuum L. Paulum, qui morte luit collegae in Cannensi ignominia temeritatem, non M. Marcellum, cuius interitum ne crudelissimus quidem hostis honore sepulturae carere passus est, sed legiones nostras, quod scripsi in Originibus, in eum locum saepe profectas alacri animo et erecto, unde se redituras numquam arbitrarentur. Quod igitur adulescentes, et ei quidem non solum indocti, sed etiam rustici, contemnunt, id docti senes extimescent? **76.** Omnino, ut mihi quidem videtur, studiorum omnium satietas vitae facit satietatem. Sunt pueritiae studia certa; num igitur ea desiderant adulescentes? sunt ineuntis adulescentiae; num ea constans iam requirit aetas, quae media dicitur? sunt etiam eius aetatis; ne ea quidem quaeruntur in senectute; sunt extrema quaedam studia senectutis; ergo, ut superiorum aetatum studia occidunt, sic occidunt etiam senectutis; quod cum evenit, satietas vitae tempus maturum mortis affert.

XXI. **77.** Equidem non video, cur, quid ipse sentiam de morte, non audeam vobis dicere, quod eo cernere mihi melius videor, quo ab ea propius absum. Ego vestros patres, tuum, Scipio, tuumque, Laeli, viros clarissimos mihique amicissimos, vivere arbitror, et eam quidem vitam, quae est sola vita nominanda. Nam, dum sumus inclusi in his compagibus corporis, munere quodam necessitatis et gravi opere perfungimur; est enim animus caelestis ex altissimo domicilio

depressus et quasi demersus in terram, locum divinae naturae aeternitatique contrarium. Sed credo deos immortales sparsisse animos in corpora humana, ut essent, qui terras tuerentur, quique caelestium ordinem contemplantes imitarentur eum vitae modo atque constantia. Nec me solum ratio ac disputatio impulit, ut ita crederem, sed nobilitas etiam summorum philosophorum et auctoritas. **78.** Audiebam Pythagoram Pythagoreosque, incolas paene nostros, qui essent Italici philosophi quondam nominati, numquam dubitasse, quin ex universa mente divina delibatos animos haberemus. Demonstrabantur mihi praeterea, quae Socrates supremo vitae die de immortalitate animorum disseruisset, is qui esset omnium sapientissimus oraculo Apollinis iudicatus. Quid multa? sic persuasi mihi, sic sentio, cum tanta celeritas animorum sit, tanta memoria praeteritorum futurorumque prudentia, tot artes, tantae scientiae, tot inventa, non posse eam naturam, quae res eas contineat, esse mortalem, cumque semper agitetur animus nec principium motus habeat, quia se ipse moveat, ne finem quidem habiturum esse motus, quia numquam se ipse sit relicturus, et, cum simplex animi esset natura neque haberet in se quicquam admixtum dispar sui atque dissimile, non posse eum dividi; quod si non posset, non posse interire; magnoque esse argumento homines scire pleraque ante quam nati sint, quod iam pueri, cum artes difficiles discant, ita celeriter res innumerabiles arripiant, ut eas non tum primum accipere videantur, sed reminisci et recordari. Haec Platonis fere.

XXII. **79.** Apud Xenophontem autem moriens Cyrus maior haec dicit: '*Nolite arbitrari, o mihi*

carissimi filii, me, cum a vobis discessero, nusquam aut nullum fore. Nec enim, dum eram vobiscum, animum meum videbatis, sed eum esse in hoc corpore ex eis rebus, quas gerebam, intellegebatis. Eundem igitur esse creditote, etiamsi nullum videbitis. **80**. *Nec vero clarorum virorum post mortem honores permanerent, si nihil eorum ipsorum animi efficerent, quo diutius memoriam sui teneremus. Mihi quidem numquam persuaderi potuit animos, dum in corporibus essent mortalibus, vivere, cum excessissent ex eis, emori, nec vero tum animum esse insipientem, cum ex insipienti corpore evasisset, sed cum omni admixtione corporis liberatus purus et integer esse coepisset, tum esse sapientem. Atque etiam cum hominis natura morte dissolvitur, ceterarum rerum perspicuum est quo quaeque discedat; abeunt enim illuc omnia, unde orta sunt, animus autem solus, nec cum adest nec cum discedit, apparet. Iam vero videtis nihil esse morti tam simile quam somnum.* **81**. *Atqui dormientium animi maxime declarant divinitatem suam; multa enim, cum remissi et liberi sunt, futura prospiciunt. Ex quo intellegitur, quales futuri sint, cum se plane corporis vinculis relaxaverint. Quare, si haec ita sunt, sic me colitote,'* inquit, '*ut deum; sin una est interiturus animus cum corpore, vos tamen deos verentes, qui hanc omnem pulchritudinem tuentur et regunt, memoriam nostri pie inviolateque servabitis.'* Cyrus quidem haec moriens; nos, si placet, nostra videamus.

XXIII. **82**. Nemo umquam mihi, Scipio, persuadebit aut patrem tuum Paulum aut duos avos, Paulum et Africanum, aut Africani patrem aut patruum aut multos praestantes viros, quos enumerare non est necesse, tanta esse conatos, quae ad posteritatis me-

moriam pertinerent, nisi animo cernerent posteritatem ad se ipsos pertinere. An censes, ut de me ipse aliquid more senum glorier, me tantos labores diurnos nocturnosque domi militiaeque suscepturum fuisse, si isdem finibus gloriam meam, quibus vitam, essem terminaturus? Nonne multo melius fuisset otiosam aetatem et quietam sine ullo aut labore aut contentione traducere? Sed nescio quo modo animus erigens se posteritatem ita semper prospiciebat, quasi, cum excessisset e vita, tum denique victurus esset. Quod quidem ni ita se haberet, ut animi inmortales essent, haud optimi cuiusque animus maxime ad immortalitatem et gloriam niteretur. **83**. Quid, quod sapientissimus quisque aequissimo animo moritur, stultissimus iniquissimo? Nonne vobis videtur is animus, qui plus cernat et longius, videre se ad meliora proficisci, ille autem, cuius obtusior sit acies, non videre? Equidem efferor studio patres vestros, quos colui et dilexi, videndi, neque vero eos solos convenire aveo, quos ipse cognovi, sed illos etiam, de quibus audivi et legi et ipse conscripsi. Quo quidem me proficiscentem haud sane quis facile retraxerit nec tamquam Peliam recoxerit. Et si quis deus mihi largiatur, ut ex hac aetate repuerascam et in cunis vagiam, valde recusem nec vero velim quasi decurso spatio ad carceres a calce revocari. **84**. Quid habet enim vita commodi? quid non potius laboris? Sed habeat sane, habet certe tamen aut satietatem aut modum. Non lubet enim mihi deplorare vitam, quod multi, et ei docti, saepe fecerunt, neque me vixisse paenitet, quoniam ita vixi, ut non frustra me natum existimem, et ex vita ita discedo tamquam ex hospitio, non tamquam e domo.

Commorandi enim natura devorsorium nobis, non habitandi dedit. O praeclarum diem, cum in illud divinum animorum concilium coetumque proficiscar cumque ex hac turba et colluvione discedam! Proficiscar enim non ad eos solum viros, de quibus ante dixi, verum etiam ad Catonem meum, quo nemo vir melior natus est, nemo pietate praestantior; cuius a me corpus est crematum, quod contra decuit ab illo meum, animus vero non me deserens, sed respectans in ea profecto loca discessit, quo mihi ipsi cernebat esse veniendum. Quem ego meum casum fortiter ferre visus sum, non quo aequo animo ferrem, sed me ipse consolabar existimans non longinquum inter nos digressum et discessum fore. **85.** His mihi rebus, Scipio, (id enim te cum Laelio admirari solere dixisti) levis est senectus, nec solum non molesta, sed etiam iucunda. Quodsi in hoc erro, qui animos hominum immortales esse credam, libenter erro nec mihi hunc errorem, quo delector, dum vivo, extorqueri volo; sin mortuus, ut quidam minuti philosophi censent, nihil sentiam, non vereor, ne hunc errorem meum philosophi mortui irrideant. Quodsi non sumus immortales futuri, tamen exstingui homini suo tempore optabile est. Nam habet natura ut aliarum omnium rerum, sic vivendi modum. Senectus autem aetatis est peractio tamquam fabulae, cuius defatigationem fugere debemus, praesertim adiuncta satietate.

Haec habui, de senectute quae dicerem; ad quam utinam perveniatis! ut ea, quae ex me audistis, re experti probare possitis.

NOTES

CHAPTER I.

Dedication to Atticus

1. 1.[1] **O Tite,** etc.: these three lines, like the two below, are quoted from the Annals of the poet Ennius (see Introd. § 5). In their original context they are addressed by an Epirote shepherd to the Roman general, Titus Quinctius Flamininus; Cicero here applies them to his friend, Titus Pomponius Atticus (see Introd. § 2).

si quid te adiuero: *if I help you at all.* Flamininus in 198 B.C. had undertaken the direction of the campaign against Philip V. of Macedon. After landing in Epirus he was much embarrassed in his operations by the mountainous character of the country, until Charŏpus, a friendly Epirote chief, sent to him the shepherd already mentioned, to act as guide. The shepherd inquires whether he is to receive any reward in case he extricates the general from his present embarrassment; *quid* is Accusative of 'Result Produced' (Internal Object), — *render any help.* A. & G.[2] 238, *b*; B. 176, 2, *a*; G. 333, 1; H. 371, I, 2; II. *adiŭero* is for the regular *adiūvero*, with shortening of the *ū* (before a vowel) after the disappearance of the *v*.

levasso: an archaic future-perfect, equivalent in meaning to the customary form, *levavero*, though of different formation.

2. **coquit**: in this figurative sense of 'vex,' 'harass,' *coquo* is confined chiefly to poetry.

versāt: note the length of the *a*. This was the original quantity of this termination, though it was already tending to become

[1] The numerical references in the notes are to page and line of the text.

[2] A. & G. = Allen and Greenough's Latin Grammar; B. = Bennett; G. = Gildersleeve; H. = Harkness.

shortened in Ennius's day. Both he and Plautus repeatedly treat the termination as short.

3. **praemi**: nouns in *-ium* and *-ius* regularly formed the genitive singular in a single *i* until after the time of Cicero. Hence that spelling is uniformly followed in this edition of the de Senectute.

4. **licet enim**, etc.: *for I may address you.*

versibus eisdem: *in the identical lines; eisdem* is here especially emphatic, as shown by its unusual position after its substantive.

6. **Ille vir**: *i.e.* the herdsman.

haud magna cum re: *poor; re* is here used in the sense of *re familiari*, 'property,' 'possessions.'

plenus fidēi: *i.e. loyal;* in early Latin final *s* was so lightly sounded that, as in the present instance, it often failed to 'make position.'

fidei: *fides*, *res*, *spes* regularly formed the genitive and dative in *-ĕī*. Here, however, the *e* is long, *fidēī*. This seems to have been the original quantity, and appears often in Early Latin.

7. **quamquam certo scio**: *and yet I know for certain; quamquam* is here corrective, like the Greek *καίτοι*.

9. **novi**: *I am acquainted with*, as contrasted with *intellego* (in the following line), *I am aware of the fact.*

moderationem et aequitatem: *self-control and evenness.*

10. **cognomen**: viz. *Atticus*, given in consequence of his long residence at Athens and his intimate acquaintance with Greek literature. *Cognomen* may designate either the family name, *i.e.* the third of the three names regularly possessed by every Roman (*e.g.* Cicero in Marcus Tullius Cicero), or a name added to indicate some personal trait or peculiarity, *e.g.* Sapiens, Africanus, Cunctator. The name Atticus seems to have been applied to Cicero's friend first as a mark of personal distinction, and later to have replaced the original family name.

humanitatem et prudentiam: *culture and good sense.*

12. **eisdem rebus**: the allusion is to the existing political situation. According as we place the composition of the de Senectute before or after Caesar's death, the reference will be to Caesar's threatened usurpation of regal power or to Antony's policy of self-aggrandizement.

me ipsum: the thought is inaccurately expressed. We should have expected *ego ipse* (sc. *commoveor*), 'by which I myself am disturbed.'

gravius: *rather seriously.*

13. **quarum**: *for which*, an extension of the ordinary force of the Objective Genitive. B. App.[1] § 321.

maior: *i.e.* a larger theme.

14. **visum est mihi**: *I have decided.*

15. **ad te conscribere**: *i.e.* to write and send to you; hence *ad* with the accusative.

17. **senectutis**: Cicero was now sixty-two years old, Atticus sixty-four. *Senectus* seems to have been an elastic term among the Romans, as 'old age' is with us.

18. **etsi**: corrective, like *quamquam* above, p. 1, l. 7.

te quidem: *quidem* serves to emphasize *te*, and to suggest a possible contrast between Atticus and Cicero. Cicero is sure that Atticus at any rate will bear old age philosophically, whatever his own attitude may prove to be.

19. **Sed occurrebas**: *i.e.* Cicero feels that Atticus, despite his natural equanimity and good sense, may nevertheless appreciate the tribute he offers.

2. 2. **eo munere**: *of that tribute*, viz. my essay on old age; *eo* here is not correlative with *quo*, but refers back to the thought involved in *scribere.*

quo uteretur: a relative clause of purpose.

uterque nostrum: *i.e.* Cicero in the writing and Atticus in the reading.

3. **Mihi quidem**: *to me at any rate;* cf. *te quidem*, p. 1, l. 18.

5. **effecerit mollem etiam et iucundam senectutem**: *has made old age actually easy and pleasant.* Note the emphasis produced by placing the predicate adjectives before their substantive, — an emphasis further increased by the unusual position of *etiam* (after *mollem*, instead of before it).

7. **cui qui pareat**, etc.: *since he who obeys it* (philosophy) *can pass every period of life without annoyance*, lit. *he who obeys which can pass.* The peculiarity of the passage lies in the fact that *cui*,

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[1] Appendix to Bennett's Latin Grammar.

while serving to introduce *possit*, is itself governed by *pareat*, which is subordinate to *possit*; *possit* is a Subjunctive of Characteristic with the accessory notion of cause. A. & G. 320, *e*; B. 283, 3; *pareat* is attracted to the mood of *possit*.

8. **de ceteris**: *on other subjects*. Outside of the nominative and accusative Cicero regularly uses an adjective in agreement with *res*, to denote 'other things,' 'many things,' etc. So here *de ceteris rebus* would have been the regular form of expression; yet the de Senectute shows several exceptions to this usage.

9. **hunc librum**: emphatic and contrasted with the writings suggested by *de ceteris*.

10. **tribuimus**: *I have put in the mouth of*. Note the editorial 'we.

11. **Tithono**: the son of Laomedon. In response to the prayers of Aurora, who loved him, the gods had made Tithonus immortal; but they did not confer upon him the boon of perpetual youth. Hence he is said to have shrivelled away and finally to have been changed into a grasshopper.

Aristo Ceus: *Aristo of Ceos*. Aristo was an unimportant Peripatetic philosopher who flourished about 225 B.C. As we gather from this passage, he was the author of a dialogue on old age, in which he had made Tithonus the chief speaker. None of Aristo's works have come down to us.

12. **in fabula**: *in a myth*, *i.e.* in putting my sentiments in the mouth of a mythical character like Tithonus.

M. Catoni seni: *Marcus Cato the Elder* (234–149 B.C. See Introd. § 4, *a*). Cicero adds *seni* to distinguish this Cato from his own contemporary, M. Cato, called *Uticensis*, a great-grandson of the elder Cato.

13. **apud quem**: *in whose presence*, or *at whose house*.

Laelium et Scipionem: see Introd. § 4, *b*, *c*. The participation of Laelius and Scipio in the conversation is extremely slight; the de Senectute is in no proper sense a dialogue.

14. **facimus**: *I represent*.

admirantes: *i.e. expressing their admiration*.

16. **eruditius**: said with special reference to attainments in philosophy or literature.

17. **in suis libris**: of Cato's works the only one that has come down to us is the treatise on farming, de Agri Cultura. This work

shows a total absence of literary skill, and makes it clear why Cicero should have thought it necessary to apologize for the elaborate form in which Cato is made to set forth his views on old age.

quarum constat eum perstudiosum fuisse: it is doubtful whether Cato's interest ever extended to the finer literary masterpieces of the Greeks. More likely such attention as he is reported to have given to Greek in his old age was confined to historical works in the Greek language; these probably served as important sources in the composition of his Origines; see Introd. § 4, *a*.

19. **plura**: supply in sense some such word as *dicere*.

CHAPTERS II.-V.

The young men express their admiration of the way in which Cato bears the burdens of old age. Cato answers that the complaints against old age are not justified; it is their authors who are to blame. Enumeration of the charges brought against old age. Cato proposes to consider these in turn.

21. **saepe numero**: *often;* sometimes written *saepenumero*.

22. **cum . . . tum**: *not only . . . but also*.

ceterarum rerum: *in other things;* another instance of the extension of the Objective Genitive. See note on *quarum consolatio*, p. 1, l. 13.

23. **vel maxime**: *vel* is simply intensive.

24. **quod senserim**: the indicative is ordinarily used in causal clauses introduced by *quod* denoting the reason of the speaker, but the subjunctive may be used to indicate the reason of the speaker when the main verb refers to a past state of mind. That is the case here, — *saepe numero admirari soleo* being equivalent to 'I have often wondered.'

25. **Aetna gravius**: Cicero regularly confines his use of the Ablative of Comparison to negative expressions, interrogative expressions implying a negative, and a few proverbial phrases such as *melle dulcius*, *vita carius*, *Aetna gravius*.

27. **rem haud sane difficilem admirari videmini**: the thought is inaccurately expressed. Cicero really means: 'What you wonder at, Scipio and Laelius, does not seem to me a really difficult

thing.' Cato does not mean to say that the young men seem to admire, — for their admiration was beyond question, — but simply that the thing which they admire does not seem remarkable to him.

28. **Quibus enim**, etc.: *for to those who have no resources*, etc. *Quibus* is Dative of Possession.

30. **a se ipsi**: as usual, the intensive is joined with the subject instead of agreeing with the reflexive.

32. **est**: *belongs*.

in primis: *especially;* sometimes written *imprimis*.

3. 1. **adeptam**: here used passively.

3. **putassent**: this represents a pluperfect indicative of direct discourse (*putaveramus*). *Putaveram* is frequently used in Latin, corresponding to the English 'I thought.'

Primum: elliptical, — *in the first place* (let us inquire).

4. **falsum putare**: *to think what was false; falsum* is here used as a substantive.

qui: *how; qui* was originally an ablative or instrumental, but it early acquired the adverbial force of 'how.' Traces of its original case function may still be seen in *quicum*.

adulescentiae senectus, etc.: as here used, *adulescentia* is the period from boyhood to old age, *i.e.* the period of growing powers.

7. **quam si**: *quam si* here has the force of *instead of*.

8. **praeterita aetas . . . cum effluxisset**, etc.: the most natural interpretation of this sentence seems to be this: 'even an unlimited period of past time would not be able, when once it was gone, to comfort the foolish age of these men I am talking about'; *posset* is the apodosis of a contrary-to-fact conditional sentence, the protasis of which is implied in *quamvis longa* ('were it never so long'). The use of the subjunctive in the clause *cum effluxisset* seems perfectly natural in this context, though it is differently explained by different scholars, and no exact parallel to the present passage can be cited.

11. **opinione vestra**: *i.e.* your good opinion.

12. **nostro cognomine**: viz. *Sapiens;* see note on *cognomen*, p. 1, l. 10.

in hoc sumus sapientes: the emphasis rests upon the words *in hoc;* the apodosis corresponding to the protasis *si . . . soletis* is to be supplied in thought; we may understand some such thought

as, 'I will say,' 'Let me point out.' Such ellipses are frequent in Latin.

13. **naturam, optimam ducem, sequimur**: this was a cardinal doctrine of the Stoics, — 'to live according to Nature,' *i.e.* Nature's plan.

14. **cum . . . discriptae sint**: *cum* has a causal force. In view of Nature's wise allotment of the other parts of life, it is not likely that she has neglected old age. For a different reading and interpretation of this passage see Critical Appendix.

16. **inerti poëta**: *an unskilful poet.*

17. **necesse fuit esse aliquid extremum**: *there had to be something final.*

tamquam: here, *just as.*

19. **quasi vietum et caducum, etc.**: we have here an instance of what may be called the 'apologetic' *quasi*. Both *tamquam* and *quasi* are often thus used when the author employs a word or phrase in some unusual figurative sense, where an English writer might have added, 'so to speak,' 'if I may employ that term,' or something of the sort. Thus here the writer apologizes for his bold use of *vietus*, which properly meant 'bent,' 'twisted,' 'shrivelled,' but which is here figuratively applied to the conditions of old age. Translate; *something shrivelled, so to speak, and ready to fall with the fulness of time. Aliquid* is to be supplied with *vietum* and *caducum*.

20. **molliter**: *calmly, patiently.*

quid est enim, etc.: 'for what does the battle of the giants with the gods signify but rebellion against Nature.' Cato's last remarks had been devoted to emphasizing the importance of living in accordance with Nature's plan. We must do this, he says; otherwise we shall be rebelling against Nature, and against this the legend of the contest of the giants should warn us. For that legend typifies rebellion against Nature. See Critical Appendix.

22. **Atqui**: *and yet; i.e.* despite their agreement with what Cato has said, the young men wish to learn how old age may be made tolerable.

gratissimum: used substantively, — *a thing most welcome to us.*

ut . . . pollicear: *to speak* (lit. *promise*) *for Scipio too, i.e.* as well as for himself.

24. **volumus quidem certe**: Laelius has just said that they both hoped (*speramus*) to become old, but realizing that this is asserting too much, he at once hastens to qualify this *speramus* by saying that at least they *wished* to become old men.

fieri: had the infinitive depended directly upon *speramus*, it would regularly have taken the form *nos futuros esse*; but its construction is determined by *volumus*.

28. **futurum est**: different in force from *erit*; *erit* would have referred the matter distinctly to the future; *futurum est* indicates rather a present prospect, — 'is likely to prove agreeable.'

29. **Volumus sane**: *we really do wish.*

30. **tamquam longam aliquam viam confeceris**, etc.: the thought from here to the end of the sentence is closely modelled on Plato's Republic, I, 328 E.

quam nobis quoque ingrediendum sit: *on which we too must enter*. This impersonal use of the periphrastic conjugation with a direct object occurs but twice in Cicero.

31. **istuc . . . quale sit**: *to see what sort of thing that is to which you have come*, lit. *to see that thing . . . of what sort it is.* (Prolepsis or Anticipation. A. & G. 334, *c*; G. 468; B. 374, 5.)

4. 2. **pares cum paribus congregantur**: note the reflexive meaning of the passive *congregantur*. For the thought, cf. the English 'Birds of a feather flock together.' In Greek the proverb is as old as Homer; see Odyss. XVII, 218: *ὡς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ὡς τὸν ὁμοῖον.* French and German also embody the same idea in trenchant form: 'Qui se ressemble s'assemble'; 'Gleich und Gleich gesellt sich gern.'

4. **quae . . . deplorare solebant**: owing to the interruption caused by the parenthesis, the writer here repeats the thought already expressed in *querelis aequalium*,—*complaints which they used to make,* lit. *which things they used to complain; quae* is accusative of 'Result Produced' (Internal Object). See note on *quid*, p. 1, l. 1.

C. Salinator: naval commander in the war against Antiochus, 191 B.C.

Sp. Albinus: consul in 186 B.C.

5. **tum . . . tum**: *partly . . . partly.*

6. **sine quibus . . . putarent**: *without which (they said) they*

thought life was not life; subjunctive in implied indirect discourse.

7. **spernerentur**: not as strong in meaning as our 'spurn,' 'despise,' but more nearly equivalent to our 'neglect,' 'slight.'

8. **essent soliti**: subjunctive by attraction.

Qui, etc.: note the adversative force of this sentence, — *but these men did not seem to me to blame*, etc.

id quod esset accusandum: practically a subordinate clause in indirect discourse, *non id accusare videbantur* being equivalent to *non eos id accusare putabam;* hence the subjunctive.

10. **usu venirent**: *would happen*, lit. *would come by experience.*

12. **cognovi**: here, *I have known.*

sine querela: the prepositional phrase is used as an adjective modifier of *senectutem.*

qui . . . non moleste ferrent: *who by no means regretted*, lit. *who bore it not ill.* The object of *ferrent* is *se laxatos esse.* Note the litotes in *non moleste;* except for this we should have had *nec* (correlative with *nec* following) instead of *et . . . non.*

15. **non in aetate**: *not in the time of life.*

moderati: *of self-control; moderati homines* are those *qui sibi moderantur.*

16. **difficiles**: *churlish;* hard to manage or hard to please.

inhumani: *i.e. devoid of culture* (*humanitas*).

17. **importunitas, inhumanitas**: these words convey in substantive form the ideas contained in *difficiles* and *inhumani* respectively.

omni aetati: *to every period of life.*

19. **dixerit quispiam**: *some one may say;* potential subjunctive. The perfect subjunctive was originally an aorist, and traces of its aoristic force may frequently be noted, as here.

20. **opes**: *resources*, and so *influence.*

copias: *wealth.*

dignitatem: *high standing*, both political and social.

23. **sed nequaquam in isto sunt omnia**: *i.e.* the whole case is by no means comprised in that.

24. **ut fertur**: the story is taken from Plato's Republic, I, 329 E.

Themistocles: the famous Athenian statesman, commander of the Greeks at Salamis.

25. **Seriphio cuidam**: *a certain Seriphian.* Seriphos, one of the Cyclades, was so small and rocky that it became proverbial in antiquity for its insignificance and barrenness.

ille: *i.e.* the Seriphian.

27. **Nec hercule**: supply in sense *clarus fuissem.*

29. **Quod**: referring loosely to the lesson of the story just narrated.

30. **levis**: *i.e.* easy to bear.

ne . . . quidem: *ne . . . quidem*, as frequently, merely repeats the negative idea. A. & G. 209, *a*, 1; B. 347, 2; G. 445; H. 553, 2.

31. **nec insipienti**, etc.: *nor to a fool can it fail to be burdensome, even in the midst of the greatest plenty.* Note the chiastic arrangement in *nec levis ne sapienti quidem* on the one hand, and *nec insipienti non gravis* on the other.

32. **Aptissima omnino . . . arma**: *altogether the most suitable weapons; senectutis* is a Possessive Genitive, *i.e.* weapons for old age to use.

5. 1. **artes exercitationesque virtutum**: *liberal arts and the practice of the virtues; artes* is here used in the sense of *artes liberales.* Notice the use of the plural in *exercitationes;* repeated instances are thought of.

2. **quae**: referring to *virtutes.*

cum diu multumque vixeris: *when you have had a long and eventful life; vixeris* is in the perfect subjunctive. Note the indefinite second singular. B. 356, 3. Subordinate clauses containing this indefinite second person singular stand regularly in the subjunctive. Cf. p. 12, l. 11, *quicquid agas.*

3. **ecferunt**: equivalent to *efferunt*, which latter was the current form in Cicero's day. B. App. § 58, *c.*

4. **deserunt**: used absolutely.

5. **id quidem**: *that, of course.*

6. **conscientia bene actae vitae**: *the consciousness of having spent one's life well;* cf. *post urbem conditam* 'after the founding of the city.'

bene factorum: *good deeds; bene facta* is often used as a substantive.

8. **Q. Maximum**: *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, surnamed Cunctator from his policy of avoiding a pitched battle with Hannibal.

Tarentum recepit: Tarentum had been captured by Hannibal in 212 B.C., but Fabius recovered it three years later.

9. **senem adulescens**: in Latin contrasted words are often put in juxtaposition.

erat enim: *for there was.*

10. **condita** : *tempered*, lit. *seasoned* (*condio*).

11. **quamquam**: corrective, as p. 1, l. 7.

12. **non admodum grandem**, etc.: *when not so very old, yet well along in life.*

13. **anno post . . . quam ego natus sum**: *a year after I was born*, *i.e.* in 233 B.C.; *post . . . quam* for *postquam*, as often. Cato's point had been merely to cite Fabius as an illustration of how 'liberal arts and the practice of the virtues' make old age pleasant and easy to bear; but, with an old man's tendency to indulge in digression, he begins to recount his own experiences as a soldier under Maximus, although the recital of these incidents does not in the least serve to illuminate the question at issue. Such digressions, especially in the way of personal reminiscences on Cato's part, meet us frequently in the de Senectute, and constitute a striking feature of the art with which Cicero has depicted the character of the aged Cato. Cf. p. 11, l. 9 ff.; p. 19, l. 26 ff.

14. **quartum consule**: *consul for the fourth time.* This was in 214 B.C.

15. **adulescentulus**: *when a young man*; Cato was twenty years old at the time.

ad Capuam: *to the neighborhood of Capua.*

17. **quem magistratum**: in English, *an office which.*

18. **cum . . . fuit**: the indicative is used to denote *the point of time at which.*

19. **suasor**: *a supporter.*

legis Cinciae: so called from the name of the tribune who introduced it, M. Cincius Alimentus. The chief feature of this law was that it forbade advocates to receive fees for professional service. This provision remained a principle of Roman law until the reign of Claudius, when it was slightly modified.

21. **plane grandis**: *quite old*, implying less, however, than *admodum senex.* The time referred to is that previous to Fabius's support of the *lex Cincia*, which was in 204 B.C., the year before his death.

iuveniliter exsultantem: *i.e.* exulting in the enthusiasm of young manhood, as opposed to Fabius, who was *plane grandis.* Hannibal was only thirty-two years old at the time (215 B.C.).

22. **patientia**: *endurance, persistence.*

23. **familiaris noster**: *my intimate friend; noster* for *meus*, as *nos* for *ego.*

Ennius: as verb of the sentence, supply *ait*, or some such word.

24. **Unus homo nobis**: the quotation is from the Annals. Virgil imitates this line in Aeneid, VI, 846.

> Tu Maximus ille es
> Unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem.

restituit: implying that when Fabius took the field the Roman fortunes were at a low ebb. This was particularly the case on the occasion of Fabius's second command, in 215 B.C., the year after the disastrous defeat at Cannae.

25. **Noenum**: *not.* The word is best explained as compounded of **noi* (a 'byform' of *nē*, *nī*) and the enclitic *num; nōn* is a different formation. See Critical Appendix.

rumores: *i.e.* the popular report that Fabius's avoidance of a direct engagement with Hannibal was prompted by cowardice.

ponebat: note the preservation of the original quantity of the final *a*; cf. note on *versat*, p. 1, l. 2.

26. **plusque magisque**: with adjectives and verbs *plus* denotes a *higher degree of intensity*, *magis*, a *wider extent* of application; thus here, *plus claret* = 'has a greater brilliancy'; *magis claret*, = 'diffuses a wider radiance.'

claret: the word is poetical and rare.

27. **Tarentum**: made emphatic by its position, — *in case of Tarentum, now.*

28. **Salinatori**: Cicero's memory is probably inaccurate in this reference to Salinator. It was Titus Livius Macatus who lost Tarentum. The same error occurs also in Cicero's de Oratore, II, 273.

30. **Mea opera**: *through my instrumentality;* the chief emphasis rests upon *mea.*

6. 1. **praestantior**: supply *erat.*

in toga: *i.e.* in peace, civil life.

2. **qui consul iterum**: *for he, when consul a second time* (228 B.C.); the relative clause begins a justification of the statement just made.

quiescente: *i.e.* taking no side in the matter.

3. **C. Flaminio**: in 232 B.C., in opposition to the expressed policy (*auctoritas*) of the senate, Flaminius had secured the passage of an agrarian law providing for the distribution of certain lands in northern Italy among the citizens of Rome. Cicero seems to be in error in making Fabius and Carvilius colleagues in 232 B.C. Their consulship was in 228 B.C., but the fact of Fabius's sturdy opposition to Flaminius's law is beyond question.

4. **agrum Picentem et Gallicum**: the Picene lands lay near the Adriatic, east of Umbria and north of the Sabine territory; the *ager Gallicus* was slightly further north.

contra senatus auctoritatem: an *auctoritas senatus* was simply an expression of opinion by way of formal resolution; it had no binding force.

5. **dividenti**: *i.e.* trying to secure the division; the participle has a conative force.

6. **optimis auspiciis**: *under most favorable auspices*; ablative of Attendant Circumstance. B. 221.

7. **ferrentur**: *were proposed; legem ferre* is the technical phrase for introducing a bill for enactment.

8. **Multa**: emphatic, — *many are the excellent qualities which I came to know in that hero.*

9. **nihil admirabilius**: *nothing worthier of admiration;* supply *cognovi.*

quam quo modo: *than the way in which;* cf. *quem magistratum gessi*, 'an office which I held,' p. 5, l. 17.

10. **mortem filii**: this son, who also bore the name Q. Fabius Maximus, had been consul in 213 B.C., and died about 205, shortly before his aged father.

11. **in manibus**: *in circulation*, *i.e.* may still be read. This phrase, however, sometimes has another meaning. See, for example, p. 10, l. 15, *quam in manibus habebat*, 'which he had in hand,' *i.e.* was engaged upon.

laudatio: *i.e. laudatio funebris*, the funeral eulogy.

quam cum legimus: *and when we read it.*

12. **contemnimus**: *regard as insignificant* (*in comparison*); *contemno* is usually less strong than the English 'despise.'

in luce atque in oculis civium: *in the public view and before the eyes of his fellow-citizens; lux* in the sense of 'publicity' is a frequent figure in Latin.

13. **magnus**: supply *erat;* cf. *praestantior*, above, p. 6, l. 1

intus domique: *in the privacy of his home;* hendiadys.

14. **quae praecepta**: *what good advice!*

15. **notitia**: *familiarity.*

scientia: *theoretical knowledge, knowledge of the principles.*

16. **Multae litterae**: *i.e.* much knowledge of books or literature.

ut in homine Romano: *for a Roman; ut* is here restrictive. In such cases the expression is elliptical. Thus here we might supply *litterae inveniuntur*,—'so far as literary knowledge is found in a Roman.' Cicero evidently recognizes that as a class his countrymen were not conspicuous for a profound knowledge of books. Such preëminence was never a prevalent ideal with the Romans.

omnia: with *bella.*

17. **domestica**: *i.e.* wars in which Romans were engaged.

18. **externa**: wars which other nations waged.

Cuius: = *et eius.*

ita: *ita* does not modify *cupide*, but *fruebar*, and simply serves to anticipate the *quasi*-clause.

19. **illo exstincto**: Fabius died in 203 B.C.

20. **fore, unde discerem, neminem**: *I should have nobody to learn from; unde*, by a common idiom, is here equivalent to *a quo;* the clause *unde discerem* is a relative clause of purpose. Special emphasis rests upon *neminem*, as is shown by its unusual position at the end of the sentence.

21. **Quorsus**: *why?*

igitur: *now*,—a mere particle of transition, as frequently.

haec tam multa: object of *dixi* or some similar verb to be supplied.

22. **quia profecto**: *because, of course.*

nefas dictu: *an outrageous thing to say.*

miseram fuisse talem senectutem: the emphasis rests equally

upon *talem senectutem*, and *miseram*. We may render: *that wretchedness characterized such an old age.* Grammatically *fuisse* is the subject of *esse*, but logically it is difficult to dissociate it from the notion of saying involved in *dictu*. In fact, Cicero would probably have written *dicere* instead of *dictu*, except that this would have given us an awkward succession of infinitives, *esse*, *dicere*, *fuisse*.

23. **Nec** = *et* . . . *non*.

24. **Scipiones aut Maximi**: *i.e.* men like Scipio or Maximus. This generic use of the plural of proper names is common. Cf. p. 8, l. 1, *Fabricii*, *Curii*, *Coruncanii*. In making Cato refer thus cordially to Scipio here and elsewhere in the de Senectute, Cicero apparently forgets the bitter feeling which had existed between the two men.

ut, ut, ut, ut: notice the emphasis gained by the repetition of the particle, — anaphora.

25. **pedestres**: *on land;* for *terrestres*, as often.

26. **Est etiam**: *there is also*, *i.e.* as well as the old age of men who, like Fabius, have been active in the field, there is also the peaceful old age of those who have passed a life of devotion to literature or philosophy.

quiete et pure atque eleganter actae: *quiete* is opposed to the stir and activity of a public life; *pure* refers to the refined character of the pursuits alluded to, while *eleganter* implies that they call for the exercise of taste and discrimination.

27. **placida ac lenis senectus**: *a tranquil and peaceful old age.* The thought of this sentence is somewhat condensed. Two ideas are combined in a single expression: (1) There is also the old age of a life spent in retired pursuits. (2) Such an old age is peaceful and tranquil.

qualem accepimus Platonis: abbreviated for *qualem accepimus fuisse senectutem Platonis*. Plato, pupil of Socrates and founder of the Athenian Academy, lived from 429 to 347 B.C.

28. **uno et octogesimo**: *unus* for *primus* as often in such combinations.

29. **scribens est mortuus**: best taken literally. Another account reports him to have died at a wedding feast. Petrarch and Leibnitz also are said to have died pen in hand.

Isocratis: orator and rhetorician (436–338 B.C.). He is said to have trained more famous orators than any other rhetorician of antiquity.

30. **librum**: *speech*, as often.

Panathenaicus: this oration, delivered at the Panathenaic festival, was a defence and eulogy of Athens as the great civilizing force of Hellas.

32. **Leontinus Gorgias**: *Gorgias of Leontini* (in Sicily), 480–373 B.C. He was a famous sophist and rhetorician.

centum et septem complevit annos: *i.e.* rounded out the sum of one hundred and seven years.

7. 2. **cur tam diu vellet esse in vita**: implying that he might have terminated life by suicide, a step which was held by the Stoics and Epicureans to be justifiable under certain circumstances.

3. **Nihil habeo quod accusem**: *I have no reason to blame.* The exact nature of the subjunctive after *nihil habeo quod* and *nihil est quod* is uncertain.

4. **Praeclarum responsum**: in apposition with the previous sentence.

5. **docto homine**: *a scholar.*

Sua enim vitia, etc.: the emphasis rests upon *sua* and *suam*, —*for 'tis their own defects and their own faults that fools lay to the charge of old age.*

6. **quod**: *i.e.* he did not lay his own defects to old age.

8. **Sicut fortis equos**, etc.: cited from the Annals.

fortis equos: *a gallant steed; equos* was the spelling of Ennius, and continued regularly in vogue till about the time of Cicero's death. Cicero, accordingly, probably wrote *equos*, *equom* (not *equus*, *equum*), although editors hesitate to introduce this spelling into our texts. See B. App. § 57.

spatio supremo: *in the final lap.* In the Greek hippodrome the chariots raced twelve times around the course.

9. **Vicit Olumpia**: *has won an Olympic victory;* Cognate Acc., A. & G. 238, *a*; B. 176, 4, *a*; G. 333, 2; H. 371, II. The expression is an imitation of the Greek Ὀλύμπια νικᾶν. In words borrowed from the Greek, *υ* was transliterated by Latin *u* in Ennius's day, and in fact for a century after his death. B. App. § 1, 5.

confectus quiescit: the final *s* does not 'make position.' See note on *plenus*, p. 1, l. 6.

10. **victoris**: here used as an adjective.

suam: sc. *senectutem*.

11. **Quem meminisse**: when used of persons in the sense of 'recall,' *memini* regularly takes the accusative.

probe: = *bene*.

12. **hi consules**: *the present consuls*, *i.e.* those for the year 150 B.C., when the conversation is represented to have taken place.

T. Flamininus: not the Titus Flamininus mentioned p. 1, l. 1.

13. **M'**: the apostrophe is probably a relic of an early *M* made with five strokes which occasionally appears in archaic inscriptions (/W).

14. **iterum**: this applies to *Philippo* only. Caepio and Philippus were colleagues in 169 B.C.

15. **legem Voconiam**: so called from the tribune Quintus Voconius Saxa, who introduced it. The purpose of the law was to restrict the amount of money bequeathed to women, and so to check their extravagance, as well as to prevent the growing tendency toward the alienation of property from the great families. Cato's speech in support of this law seems to have been much read in antiquity, and was still extant in Livy's time.

16. **bonis lateribus**: *lusty lungs*.

20. **Etenim**: grammatically *etenim* introduces *reperio*,—*for, when I think it over, I find four reasons why old age seems wretched.* Logically, however, it anticipates the clause *Earum . . . videamus*, which practically means 'No one of these four reasons is sound'; so that the paragraph as a whole might be loosely paraphrased thus: 'For of the four reasons which, upon consideration, I find advanced in support of the wretchedness of old age, —of these four reasons not one is sound.' This brings the thought into close connection with the assertion that Ennius actually seemed to enjoy old age, and furnishes the transition from the introductory portion of the essay to the discussion proper.

complector: in this figurative sense the phrases *complector animo*, *complector mente* are regularly combined with a direct object; here we may supply in sense *rem*, 'the subject.'

21. **quod avocet, quod faciat,** etc.: the subjunctive indicates that the reason is not the speaker's, but exists in the mind of some one else, viz. of those who think old age wretched.

22. **alteram**: = *secundam*, as often.

25. **quamque iusta**: *quamque = et quam.*

CHAPTERS VI.-VIII.

The first charge against old age: It withdraws men from active pursuits. True, but not from all, as shown in the lives of Fabricius, Curius, Coruncanius, Appius Claudius, and others. "Old men for counsel; young men for action." Nor is loss of memory a necessary result of old age: witness Sophocles. Many old men even continue the personal supervision of their farms. Old men may continue their earlier studies, or begin new studies; Cato cites himself as an instance.

27. **A rebus gerendis senectus abstrahit**: merely a statement of the first objection brought against old age.

Quibus: with omission of the preposition, which has just been expressed with *rebus*. With relatives and interrogatives, such omission is frequent.

28. **an eis**: *is it not merely from those?* When, by ellipsis of the first member of a double question, *an* stands alone, its force must be determined according to the content of the omitted member. Here we may supply *utrum omnibus,*—*is it from all matters or (simply) from those?*

iuventute et viribus: *the strength of youth,*—hendiadys.

29. **igitur**: merely inferential,—*are there, then, no pursuits,* etc.?

quae . . . administrentur: *which are performed,*—not *may be* or *can be.* The subjunctive is one of Characteristic.

vel infirmis corporibus: *even though the body is feeble; vel* is intensive.

30. **tamen**: *i.e.* in spite of feeble bodies. But to us the thought seems sufficiently clear without this particle.

nihil, ergo, agebat, etc.: *was it nothing, then, that Maximus did?* Notice the anaphora in *nihil, nihil, nihil.*

31. **L. Paulus, pater tuus**: Lucius Aemilius Paulus, conqueror

of the Macedonian king Perseus at Pydna in 168 B.C. Scipio was the son of this Paulus, and received the name of Scipio as a result of his adoption by L. Cornelius Scipio, son of the conqueror of Hannibal. To the name of his adoptive father, Scipio added the *cognomen* Aemilianus, taken from the gentile name (Aemilius) of his actual father, Paulus.

8. 1. **filii mei**: Cato's son, Marcus Porcius Cato, married Aemilia, Paulus's daughter. He died when praetor elect in 152 B.C., and is touchingly alluded to again near the close of this dialogue, p. 36, l. 6 ff.

ceteri senes: *i.e.* the other old men whom every one at once recalls.

Fabricii, Curii, Coruncanii: the generic plural, as *Scipiones, Maximi*, p. 6, l. 24, *i.e.* Fabricius, Curius, Coruncanius, and men of that stamp. Fabricius, famous for the simplicity and integrity of his character, was especially conspicuous in the war against Pyrrhus (281–275 B.C.). Curius was a contemporary of Fabricius, and like him served with distinction in the war against Pyrrhus. Coruncanius, though the least famous of the three men here mentioned, was accounted one of the most remarkable characters of his day (consul 280 B.C.), and achieved success in war with the Etruscans, as well as against Pyrrhus.

2. **cum . . . defendebant**: the *cum*-clause here seems to be 'explicative,' like Cicero's *cum tacent, clamant*, 'their silence is a shout'; so here, *was their defence of the state inactivity* (*nihil agebant*) *!*

3. **Ad Appi Claudi**, etc.: *Appius Claudius, besides being old, was also blind;* lit. *to the old age of Appius it was added that he was blind.* Appius was censor in 312 B.C., and consul in 306 and 295. The Appia Via was constructed under his supervision.

5. **ad pacem . . . faciendum**: *faciendum* is to be taken with *pacem* as well as with *foedus*.

7. **persecutus est**: *has set forth.*

8. **Quo vobis**, etc.: the citation is from the Annals; *vobis* is the so-called Ethical Dative.

rectae quae stare solebant: *rectae* seems here used figuratively for *sound, sane*, and to be contrasted with *dementes* in the next line.

9. **Antehac**: here dissyllabic by synezesis.

dementes: with adverbial force, — *senselessly*; *mentes dementes* illustrates the figure called oxymoron ('contradiction'), *senseless senses*.

viāī: archaic genitive, dependent upon *quo*, — lit. *whither of the way*.

10. **ceteraque**: *i.e.* the other points of Appius's speech.

gravissime: *most impressively*.

carmen: *the poem, passage*.

11. **et tamen**: *and apart from that*, *i.e.* apart from Ennius's account, Appius's own speech is also preserved. It was still extant a hundred years later in Cicero's day.

13. **cum . . . interfuissent censorque . . . fuisset**: we have here an illustration of the most extreme development of the *cum*-clause of situation or circumstance. All temporal notion has vanished, and only the circumstantial force is left. The nearest English equivalent is the awkward nominative absolute, — *ten years having intervened between the two consulships, and the censorship having preceded his first consulship*. Other instances of the same use of *cum* may be seen p. 13, l. 15, *cum pontifex maximus factus esset*, 'having been made pontifex maximus'; p. 18, l. 9, *cum ei sermoni interfuisset Plato*, 'Plato having been present at that conversation.'

14. **ex quo intellegitur**: *from which it is (readily) understood*.

15. **Pyrrhi bello**: Ablative of Time.

grandem sane: *quite an old man;* he had been elected to the censorship in 312 B.C. As the office of censor was one of great dignity, it is unlikely that Appius was less than forty years of age at the time he filled it. This would make him over seventy years old at the time referred to.

16. **sic**: viz. that he was able to determine the public policy at this advanced age.

nihil afferunt: *adduce no argument*, *i.e.* no argument that proves old age wretched.

17. **similesque sunt ut si qui . . . dicant**: the diction is clumsy and unusual; evidently Cicero has combined two forms of expressing the same idea:

(1) They are like those who say (*eorum similes sunt qui dicunt*).

(2) As if any persons should say (*ut si qui dicant*) See Critical Appendix.

scandant, cursent, exhauriant, sedeat: the subjunctives are due to the indirect discourse.

21. **quietus**: *without moving* (*from his place*).

non facit: sc. *senectus*.

22. **non viribus aut velocitate**, etc.: these phrases are made emphatic by their position, — *'tis not by strength of body, or by speed of movement or swiftness, that great matters are accomplished*; *corporum* limits *viribus* as well as *velocitate* and *celeritate*.

24. **consilio, auctoritate, sententia**: *deliberation*, *influence*, *judgment*.

quibus, etc.: an illustration of the construction called ἀπὸ κοινοῦ ('in common'), by which a single word or phrase is made to limit two different words, each in a different construction. Thus here *quibus* is Ablative of Separation with *orbari*, but Ablative of Specification with *augeri*, lit. (*qualities*) *of which old age is not only not wont to be deprived, but in respect to which it is even wont to be increased* (*i.e.* more liberally endowed). See Critical Appendix.

26. **Nisi forte**: this phrase regularly, as here, implies that the supposition is absurd.

miles et tribunus et legatus et consul: note the emphasis gained by the polysyndeton, *et . . . et . . . et . . . et*. There were six *tribuni militum* in a legion; they commanded in turn, each for two months. The *legatus* stood next to the commander-in-chief, and was under his immediate supervision; the *consul*, when he took the field, was the commanding general.

27. **vario genere**: the English idiom is *various kinds*.

28. **nunc videor**, etc.: join *nunc* closely with *cum*, — *now that*.

30. **male iam diu cogitanti**: *which has long been plotting mischief*.

bellum multo ante denuntio: Cato means that he declares war against Carthage long before the actual commencement of hostilities. He saw the approaching conflict, and did his best to precipitate it, regularly ending his speeches in the Senate with the declaration: *censeo Karthaginem esse delendam*.

9. 1. **Quam palmam**: *this glory*, *i.e.* of destroying Carthage. Cicero cleverly utilizes the subsequent overthrow and destruction of Carthage by Scipio in 146 B.C. (four years after the date of this dialogue).

2. **ut . . . persequare**: explanatory of *palmam*, — *of completing what your grandfather left undone;* the reference in *avi* is to the elder Scipio, the hero of the Second Punic War.

3. **tertius et tricesimus annus**: this is inaccurate. Scipio died in 185 B.C., *thirty-five* years before the date of the dialogue.

excipient: lit. *take up*, *i.e.* one after another, and so *transmit, perpetuate.* Cf. Livy, XXXVIII, 22. 3, *pugnam excipere.*

6. **cum . . . creatus esset**: *having been chosen consul a second time in my consulship.* The *cum*-clause is like *cum . . . interfuissent*, p. 8, l. 13.

7. **Num igitur**, etc.: *igitur* as p. 7, l. 29.

8. **paeniteret**: referring to present time, — *would he now be regretting?* Had Scipio lived to his hundredth year, he would have been eighty-four at the time of the dialogue; hence the use of the imperfect tense.

9. **nec enim . . . uteretur**: *no! for he would not be making use.*

excursione, saltu: *i.e.* in military operations.

10. **consilio, ratione, sententia**: see note on p. 8, l. 24, *consilio, auctoritate, sententia; ratio* is *reason*, *i.e.* the exercise of the reasoning faculties.

11. **quae nisi essent**, etc.: *unless these qualities were in old men.*

12. **summum consilium**: *the highest deliberative body.*

13. **quidem**: *in fact.*

14. **ut sunt**: *just as they are* (*old men*). The reference is to the γέροντες or councillors (lit. *old men*), who formed the so-called γερουσία. Cicero's point is that, while the Romans called their councillors *senatores* (a word suggesting *senex*), the Lacedaemonians called their councillors *senes* outright.

15. **Quodsi voletis**: *if you will* (*only*), — not so strong as *wish* in this instance.

16. **externa**: *foreign history.*

18. **cedo**: *tell me.* The verse is an iambic tetrameter (or

octonarius) and consists of four iambic dipodies, or in all eight feet.

Its scansion is:

Cedo quí | vestram | rem pú | blicam | tant^{am} á | misis | tis tám | cito

Its metrical scheme is:

⏑ ⏑ –́ | — — | — –́ | ⏑ — ‖ — –́ | — — | — –́ | ⏑ —.

As may be seen from this scheme, the spondee and anapaest (⏑ ⏑ –́) may be used in place of the iambus (⏑ –́). The so-called ictus is prominent only in alternate feet.

qui: *how?*

19. in Naevi poetae Lupo: *in 'The Wolf' of the poet Naevius.* Naevius was one of the very earliest Latin writers (269–199 B.C.). Of his numerous works, Bellum Punicum (a poem in Saturnian measure on the First Punic War), tragedies and comedies, only a few brief fragments have come down to us. The play from which the above line is quoted was also called the Alimonia Romuli et Remi, and dealt with the story of the twins. It belongs to the class of plays known as *fabulae praetextae* or historical dramas, of which Naevius is known to have composed three. It has been conjectured that the words above cited were addressed by Amulius to the ambassadors whom the Veientian King Vibe had dispatched to the Alban court. The answer to the question is given in the words: *Proveniebant oratores,* etc. See Critical Appendix.

respondentur et alia et hoc in primis: *other replies are given, but this in particular.*

21. Proveniebant oratores, etc.: also an iambic tetrameter. The scansion is:

Provéni | ebant | orá | tores ‖ noví | stult^{i} adu | lescén | tuli

The metrical scheme is:

— ⏑́ ⏑ | — — | — –́ | — — ‖ ⏑ –́ | — ⏑ ⏑ | — –́ | ⏑ —

In the first and sixth feet, a dactyl is substituted for the normal iambus.

stulti, adulescentuli: *fools, boys.* The point is not that these particular youths were fools, but that youths who undertake to

wrest the control of government from older men, are fools as a class (Meissner).

22. **Temeritas est videlicet**, etc.: *rashness, it is plain to see, is a characteristic of youth* (*florentis aetatis*).

24. **At memoria minuitur**: *but, it is alleged, memory is impaired.* This use of *at* to introduce the view of an opponent is very common in argumentation.

Credo: *I suppose so;* not ironical.

nisi eam exerceas: *unless you exercise it;* the second singular is used of an indefinite subject precisely like our English 'you.'

25. **natura tardior**: *naturally rather dull.*

26. **perceperat**: *knew*, lit. *had acquired.*

27. **qui Aristides esset**, etc.: *to greet Aristides as Lysimachus.* As object of *salutare* understand *eum*, to which *Lysimachum* stands in the relation of predicate accusative. There is a certain dry humor in the illustration chosen by Cato. The rivalry between Themistocles and Aristides had been so keen that Themistocles was hardly likely to forget his old opponent or to confuse him with another man. Lysimachus was Aristides's father.

28. **Equidem**: while not etymologically connected with *ego*, this word in Cicero is regularly equivalent to *ego quidem*, 'I for my part,' 'I at least,' etc.

29. **qui sunt**: *who are still living.*

30. **nec sepulcra legens**, etc.: *nor am I afraid of losing my memory by reading epitaphs, as they say.*

quod aiunt: *quod* refers loosely for its antecedent to the idea suggested by the context, viz.: Those who read epitaphs, lose their memory. Doubtless this saying was largely true, in so far, at least, as those who were found engaged in studying the tombstones were already old men of waning faculties.

31. **his ipsis legendis**: *by reading these very tombstones.*

10. 1. **quemquam senem**: *any old man.* The use of *quisquam* (for *ullus*) as an adjective, though not frequent, is well attested for Cicero, *e.g.* de Officiis, III, 101, *civi cuiquam.*

2. **omnia quae curant**: *all things in which they take interest.*

3. **vadimonia constituta**: *the bail they have given*, lit. *the bail fixed*, viz., by the court.

4. **Quid iuris consulti**, etc.: *senes* belongs with all these nominatives,—*how is it in case of aged lawyers, aged pontiffs, aged augurs, aged philosophers*, lit. *jurists as old men, augurs as old men*, etc. Some verb is to be supplied in sense with these words, *fecerunt*, for example.

5. **Quam multa meminerunt**: *how many things they* (*are obliged to*) *remember; i.e.* the very nature of their profession obliges them to possess retentive memories.

6. **Manent**: emphatic by position.

ingenia: *faculties.*

modo permaneat, etc.: *provided only interest and industry continue.*

8. **honoratis**: this word does not here mean *honored*, but designates men distinguished by holding public offices, *honores.*

9. **Sophocles**: the greatest of the Greek tragedians. He lived from 496–406 B.C. Seven of his tragedies have come down to us.

10. **quod propter studium cum . . . videretur**: *and when in consequence of this pursuit he seemed.*

11. **a filiis**: the common account attributes this action to a single son, Iophon; but the whole story is apocryphal.

12. **quem ad modum male rem gerentibus**, etc.: *just as fathers who mismanage their estates are wont to be removed from* (*control of*) *their property*, lit. *it is wont to be interdicted to fathers from their property; patribus* is dative of reference; *bonis*, ablative of separation. A. & G. 225, *d*, N. 1; B. 188, 1, *a*; G. 390, 2, N. 3.

nostro more: this Roman custom was legally recognized in the Laws of the Twelve Tables (about 450 B.C.).

13. **quasi desipientem**: *as being in his dotage.*

15. **eam fabulam**: *the play.*

quam in manibus habebat: *which he had in hand, on which he was engaged.* For another sense of *in manibus*, see p. 6, l. 11.

16. **et proxime scripserat**: *and upon which he had just been writing.* The pluperfect here, in addition to its usual force, seems to denote the act as in process.

Oedipum Coloneum: *the Oedipus at Colónus. Coloneus* is an adjective. The play has come down to us, and represents the aged Oedipus arriving in his wanderings at the Attic deme of Colonus. The tradition is that the passage chosen by the poet for recitation

on the occasion referred to was the magnificent choral ode in praise of Athens (verses 668–719), a part of which runs as follows:

> Of all the lands far famed for goodly steeds,
> Thou com'st, O stranger, to the noblest spot,
> Colonos, glistening bright,
> Where, evermore, in thickets freshly green,
> The clear-voiced nightingale
> Still haunts, and pours her song,
> By purpling ivy hid,
> And the thick leafage sacred to the God.
> — PLUMPTRE's Translation.

17. **num illud carmen**, etc.: *whether that poem seemed* (*the work*) *of a dotard.*

18. **sententiis**: *votes.*

liberatus: in the judicial sense, — *acquitted.*

19. **Homerum, Hesiodum**, etc.: the enumeration of distinguished names embraces three classes; poets (Homer, Hesiod, Simonides, Stesichorus), rhetoricians (Isocrates, Gorgias), philosophers (Pythagoras, Democritus, etc.). It should be borne in mind that Cato here mentions only those poets, rhetoricians, and philosophers who lived to an advanced age.

Hesiodum: *Hesiod*, a native of Ascra in Boeotia, flourished about 750 B.C. His greatest work, the Works and Days (Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι) suggested much to Virgil in the composition of the Georgics.

20. **Simonides**: *Simónides.* There were two poets of this name, — Simonides of Amorgos and Simonides of Ceos. The latter was the more famous of the two; he flourished at the time of the Persian wars (490–480 B.C.), and composed the extant epigram in honor of the Spartans who fell at Thermopylae.

Stesichorum: *Stesíchorus*, a famous lyric poet of Hímera in Sicily. He flourished about 600 B.C. All his works are lost barring a few fragments. It is said that a nightingale sang upon his lips at his birth.

Isocraten, Gorgian: see note on p. 6, ll. 29, 32. *Isocrates*, though of the 3d declension, forms its accusative after the analogy of Greek nouns in *-ēs* of the 1st declension. Similarly *Xenocraten* below.

21. **Pythagoram**: *Pythágoras* of Samos, founder of the Pythagoréan school. He flourished in the latter half of the sixth century B.C. Mysticism was a pronounced feature in his system; his most famous doctrine was the theory of transmigration of souls (Metempsychosis).

22. **Democritum**: *Demócritus*, of Abdéra in Thrace, 460–361 B.C., one of the earliest representatives of the atomic theory.

Xenocraten: *Xenócrates*, of Chalcédon, 396–314 B.C., a pupil of Plato, and one of his successors in the presidency of the Academy, — a post which he occupied for twenty-five years.

23. **Zenonem**: *Zeno*, of Citium in Cyprus, about 350–250 B.C. He was founder of the Stoic school, of which he was for nearly sixty years the president.

Cleanthem: *Cleanthes*, of Assos, 300–220 B.C., a Stoic and a disciple of Zeno.

24. **Diogenem Stoicum**: *Diógenes, the Stoic*, not to be confounded with Diogenes, the Cynic. He had visited Rome in 155 B.C., five years previous to the time of this dialogue, and was evidently an old man at that time, though the years of his birth and death are unknown. He had come to Rome in company with Carneades and Critolaus as an ambassador, and during his stay had begun to expound his philosophical views. Cato's opposition to Greek ideas was so deeply rooted that he took the lead in securing Diogenes's departure from the city. The enthusiasm, therefore, with which Cicero makes Cato refer to Diogenes is not in keeping with the facts.

26. **Age**: *come!*

27. **ista divina studia**: viz., poetry, philosophy, etc.

ex agro Sabino rusticos: *farmers in the Sabine territory*.

29. **numquam fere**: *scarcely ever*.

30. **maiora**: *important*, lit., *greater* (than ordinary).

non serendis, etc.: *not in the way of planting, gathering, or storing the crops.* Notice the zeugma in *serendis fructibus;* accuracy would call for some such word as *seminibus*. The use of the ablative here without *in* is extremely peculiar; most scholars explain the construction as an ablative absolute. Observe that *non* here does not counteract the negative force of *numquam*, but repeats it. A. & G. 209, *a*, 2; B. 347, 2; G. 445; H. 553, 2.

31. **in aliis**: *in other things; aliis* is here contrasted with the following *quae sciunt nihil ad se omnino pertinere*, and hence practically means: *in matters that concern them.* On the use of neuter adjectives as substantives in oblique cases, see note on p. 2, l. 8.

32. **senex**: here with adjective force.

11. 1. **idem**: nominative plural, — *they also.*

2. **pertinere**: in the sense of *vitally concern.*

3. **Serit arbores**, etc.: this line is a Bacchíac Tetrameter:

⏑ ∠ — | ⏑ ∠ — | ⏑ ∠ — | — ∠ —.

By a metrical license the *i* of *serit* is here long. Note that a long syllable may be substituted for the short of the Bacchíus.

quae . . . prosint: *to benefit*, — relative clause of purpose.

alteri saeclo: *the next* (lit. *the other*) *generation.* Note that *saeclum* is the original form of this word, whence *saeculum* by the development of a parasitic vowel. B. App. § 91.

4. **Statius**: Caecilius Statius, by birth an Insubrian Gaul. He was a comic poet, and lived about 220–166 B.C. Only fragments of his works remain.

in Synephebis: *in his Synephēbi*, the title of a play. The original was by the Greek poet Menander; Caecilius translated and adapted it for Roman audiences.

5. **quamvis sit senex**: *however old he may be.*

quaerenti: *to* (*the person*) *inquiring.*

9. **melius**: supply some such verb as *dicit*, — *Caecilius gives us a better sentiment* (lit. *says better*) *with regard to the old man*, etc. The passage from *et melius* to *sed videtis*, sixteen lines below, is really a digression from the point at present under discussion. Cato is endeavoring to show that old men even superintend the work on their own farms. In developing this point he quotes two passages from Statius in support of his contention. These two citations lead to others, which, though they are concerned with the general subject of old age, are nevertheless not germane to the present topic, viz., the allegation that old age withdraws men from active occupation. See the note on p. 5, l. 13.

10. **quam illud idem**; *than he does in what follows*, lit. *than the same* (*Caecilius says*) *the following.*

11. **Edepol, senectus**, etc.: these lines are quoted from Sta-

tius's Plocium (The Necklace). Like the couplet below, they are Iambic Trimeter (Senarii). The metrical scheme is:

⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ – | – –́ | – – | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –
– –́ | – – | – –́ | ⏑ – | – –́ | ⏑ –
– –́ | – – | – –́ | ⏑ – | – –́ | ⏑ –

Anapaests and spondees are freely substituted for the iambus in all feet except the last; in the last line *diu* makes one syllable by synezesis.

nil . . . viti: *no other evil; quicquam* is redundant.

12. **Apportes**: *should bring.*

quom: the earlier form of *cum*, and possibly still in common use when Cicero wrote the de Senectute.

sat: *sat* for *satis* is common in archaic Latin.

13. **quae non volt, videt**: the subject is general, — *one sees many things that one does not wish; volt*, the early form of *vult*, may have been still the prevailing form in Cicero's day. In the next two lines *volt* is written by most editors, on the assumption that Cicero intentionally reproduces the diction of Caecilius.

15. **Illud vero**, etc.: *but the following utterance of the same Caecilius is still worse*, lit. *the same Caecilius* (*says*) *the following worse.*

17. **Tum equidem**, etc.: quoted from Caecilius's Ephesio. The metrical scheme is:

⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ – | – –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –
– –́ | ⏑ – | – –́ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – –́ | ⏑ –

The dactyl replaces the iambus in the fourth foot of the second line; *eumpse* is read as a dissyllable by synezesis.

senecta: poetical and post-Augustan for *senectus.*

deputo: ante- and post-classical for *puto.*

18. **ea aetate**: *at that time of life;* the phrase limits *sentire.*

eumpse: *i.e. eum + pse* (B. App. § 196), archaic for *ipsum;* cf. *ipse* for **is-pse; eumpse* is the subject of *esse*, and is equivalent to *se ipsum*, 'oneself.'

odiosum: *a bore.*

alteri: sc. *aetati*, *i.e.* to the young, lit. *to the other period of life.* See Critical Appendix.

19. **Iucundum potius quam odiosum**: preserve the ellipsis in translation.

24. **nec minus intellego**: the inaccuracy of expression is identical with that noted p. 1, l. 11, *te suspicor eisdem rebus quibus me ipsum commoveri.* What Cato really means is: *I see that I am no less agreeable to you than you actually are to me.* Strictly the Latin should be: *nec minus intellego me vobis esse iucundum quam mihi vos estis.*

25. **Sed videtis**: Cato here returns from his somewhat lengthy digression (see above on l. 9), and resumes the point under discussion, viz., the activity of old men.

ut senectus, etc.: *how old age*, etc.; indirect question.

26. **verum etiam**: *but even.*

27. **agens et moliens**: *doing and undertaking;* this predicate use of the present participle is rare.

tale scilicet, etc.: *some such thing*, *of course*, *as*, etc. The occupation of the old man will depend upon his earlier pursuits.

28. **Quid?** etc.: *what of those who*, etc.?

29. **ut et Solonem versibus gloriantem videmus**: *et* before *Solonem* is correlative with the *et* before *ego* below, but should not be rendered in English translation. Solon is the famous Athenian lawgiver, 638–558 B.C. He was a poet as well as a statesman, and numerous fragments of his works have come down to us. The line here referred to by Cicero is cited by Plutarch in his life of Solon, c. 31, γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος. On *gloriantem videmus*, see A. & G. 292, *e*; B. 337, 3; G. 536; H. 535, 4.

12. 1. **et ego feci**: *and (just as) I have done.*

senex: *when an old man.*

2. **sic avide**: *so eagerly.* See Critical Appendix.

3. **nota essent**: *became known*, *familiar.*

quibus me nunc exemplis uti videtis: *which you now see me using as examples; exemplis* stands in predicate relation to *quibus*, which depends directly upon *uti.* The passage is somewhat apologetic. Cicero evidently feels that his picture of Cato attributes to the old Roman a greater familiarity with Greek thought and letters than he actually possessed; hence the attempt to account for the origin of the alleged learning. See Introd. § 4, *a*.

4. **quod cum . . . audirem**: *quod* refers to the idea of constantly adding to one's knowledge or accomplishments.

5. **in fidibus**: *in case of the lyre.*

vellem: apodosis of a conditional sentence of the contrary-to-fact type, with omitted protasis.

6. **discebant fidibus**: *used to learn the lyre*, lit. *learn with the lyre.* B. 218, 7. Many scholars suggest supplying *canere*, 'play,' here.

in litteris certe: *on literature at any rate, i.e.* if not on anything else.

CHAPTERS IX.-XI.

The second charge: Old age lacks the strength of youth. But old age does not need great strength. Moreover, by temperance one can preserve one's youthful vigor even to an advanced old age, as shown by numerous instances, — Cyrus, Metellus, Masinissa.

8. **desidero**: *feel the need of, the lack of.*

9. **locus alter**: *the second point.*

10. **non plus**: the negative as p. 4, l. 30.

11. **Quod est**: *what you have;* the antecedent of *quod* is *eo.* On the use of the oblique cases of pronouns in the neuter, see p. 2, l. 8.

quicquid agas: clauses introduced by indefinite relatives (*quisquis quicumque*, etc.) ordinarily stand in the indicative; but all subordinate clauses expressed in the indefinite second singular regularly take the subjunctive.

12. **Quae vox**: *what utterance?*

13. **Milonis Crotoniatae**: *Milo of Crotóna*, in southern Italy, a famous athlete of the sixth century B.C. He won repeated victories in the Olympic and Pythian games.

qui cum, etc.: *for when he was*, etc.

16. **hi quidem**: almost *these, alas!*

17. **isti**: sc. *sunt mortui.*

ex lateribus: *in consequence of your wind; latera* is used as above, p. 7, l. 16, *lungs.*

19. **Nihil, nihil, nihil**: note the anaphora.

Sex. Aelius: *Sextus Aelius*, consul 198 B.C., famous as a jurist and an orator. He wrote a commentary on the Twelve Tables.

20. **Ti. Coruncanius**: see note on p. 8, l. 1.

modo: *recently.*

P. Crassus: the use of *modo* would suggest that the reference is to some one nearer the present time than either Coruncanius or Aelius. Publius Licinius Crassus, consul in 171 B.C., naturally suggests himself as the person Cicero has in mind. That Crassus, however, was not eminent as a jurist, and Cicero has probably confused him with P. Licinius Crassus Dives, pontifex maximus in 212 B.C. and consul in 205, a man famed for his knowledge of pontifical law.

iura praescribebantur: *laws were interpreted.*

22. **est provecta**: *continued.*

prudentia: *wisdom.*

Orator metuo ne languescat: as the order of the words shows, *Orator* is here emphatic, — *as regards the orator, I fear he may become feeble.*

23. **senectute**: causal.

munus eius: *his function.*

24. **Omnino canorum illud, etc.**: *to be sure that melodious quality in the voice somehow even improves in old age.* Note the mixed metaphor in *canorum . . . splendescit; splendesco* properly applies only to what presents itself to the eye. *Omnino* is contrasted with *sed tamen*, — 'to be sure the voice improves; yet apart from that an old man's talk is often engaging.'

27. **et videtis annos**: though grammatically co-ordinate with what precedes, this clause is logically subordinate, being equivalent to 'old though I am' or 'in spite of my years.'

sed tamen est, etc.: *but yet the quiet and unimpassioned conversation of an old man has a grace about it.*

28. **quietus et remissus**: *quietus* = 'without movement,' as contrasted with the lively gesticulation of the orator; *remissus* = 'without passion,' *i.e.* without the mental and moral excitement of the orator.

facit sibi audientiam: *gains itself a hearing.*

29. **compta et mitis**: *smooth and easy.*

Quam si . . . nequeas: *if you should be unable to practise this; quam* refers to *oratio.*

30. **Scipioni et Laelio**: *a Scipio and a Laelius.*

31. **senectute stipata studiis iuventutis**: *an old age thronged with eager youths*, lit. *with the eagerness of youth;* the abstract for the concrete. Notice the alliteration in *senectute stipata studiis.*

32. **An ne illas quidem vires**, etc.: *or do we leave to old age not even the strength to teach young men; illas vires* is explained by the following *ut*-clauses.

18. 1. **instituat**: *instruct.*

2. **ad omne offici munus**: *for the performance of every duty*, lit. *for all performance of duty.*

instruat: *prepare, equip;* cf. *instrumentum*, 'outfit,' 'equipment,' *instructus*, 'fitted out,' 'equipped.'

quo quidem, etc.: *and than this task what can be more glorious!*

3. **Cn. et P. Scipiones**: these were respectively the uncle and father of the elder Africanus. They both rendered important services in the earlier half of the Second Punic War, and fell in Spain in 212 B.C. Note the plural in *Scipiones;* this is usual when two persons of the same family are combined by a copulative conjunction.

4. **avi tui duo, L. Aemilius et P. Africanus**: Lucius Aemilius (Paulus), the father of Lucius Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus, the conqueror of Perseus, was the actual grandfather of the younger Scipio; Publius Africanus was his adoptive grandfather.

6. **bonarum artium**: *liberal arts.*

non beati putandi: *are to be thought other than happy;* cf. p. 4, l. 31, *non gravis; sunt* is to be supplied with *putandi.*

7. **quamvis consenuerint vires**, etc.: *however much their strength may have waned and failed.*

8. **Etsi**: corrective.

10. **effetum**: best taken as in predicate relation to *corpus*, — *hands the body over to old age all worn out*, *i.e.* in a state of exhaustion.

11. **Cyrus**: Cyrus the Elder, king of Persia, the hero of Xenophon's Cyropaedía. He lived from 599 to 529 B.C. The conversation here referred to is given in Cyropaedia, VIII, 7, 6.

apud Xenophontem: *in Xenophon*, *i.e.* in his writings, — a common use of *apud.*

14. **Metellum**: consul in 251 B.C., in the First Punic War; he died in 221.

15. **memini puer**: the expression is inexact. Cicero has evidently combined two ideas:

(1) 'As a boy, I noticed that Metellus was strong.'

(2) 'I now remember that Metellus was strong.'

English admits the same form of expression, however.

cum factus esset: the *cum*-clause is purely circumstantial, — *having been made pontifex maximus;* see note on p. 8, l. 13.

17. **esse**: the present infinitive occurs repeatedly with *memini* where in English we should expect the perfect.

19. **nihil necesse est**: *it is not at all necessary.*

20. **id quidem**: *i.e.* to speak of one's self.

senile: *characteristic of old men.*

22. **Videtisne**: *don't you see;* when appended to the verb, *-ne* frequently has the force of *nonne.* A. & G. 210; B. 162, 2, *c.*

ut: *how*, as above, p. 11, l. 25.

23. **praedicet**: here, *boasts.*

24. **nec erat ei verendum**: *nor did he have occasion to fear.*

25. **vera praedicans**: *in telling the truth.*

26. **insolens aut loquax**: *arrogant or garrulous.*

ex eius lingua melle dulcior, etc: from Homer, Iliad i. 249, *τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή.*

27. **quam ad suavitatem**: *for which eloquence.*

28. **et tamen**: *i.e.* in spite of his lack of bodily strength.

29. **dux ille Graeciae**: the reference is to Agamemnon; *ille* when following a substantive regularly means, as here, *that famous, that well-known.*

nusquam: *i.e. nowhere* in Homer.

ut . . . habeat: the clause is the object of *optat.*

Aiacis similes: in Cicero *similis*, when governing words designating persons, is regularly followed by the genitive.

30. **sed ut Nestoris**: elliptical for *sed ut decem Nestoris similes habeat.* Agamemnon's longing for ten warriors like Nestor is found in Iliad ii. 371.

quod si sibi acciderit: *if this fortune should be his; acciderit* is in the subjunctive by attraction to *sit peritura.*

14. 1. vellem equidem idem possem gloriari: *would that I could make the same boast; vellem* is in the subjunctive as expressing the apodosis of a contrary-to-fact conditional sentence, the protasis of which is omitted, — *I would wish* (were it possible); *possem* is logically the object of *vellem*, being developed from an original optative subjunctive, — *would I were able; ut* is, accordingly, regularly absent in this idiom. B. 296, 1, *a*.

idem: A. & G. 238 *b*; B. 176, 2, *a*; G. 333, 1; H. 371, I, 2; II.

sed tamen hoc queo dicere, etc.: the thought is inaccurately expressed; what Cato means is: 'Though I am not as strong as I once was, yet I can say that old age has not entirely shattered me.' Instead of this, the clause *me . . . esse* is made principal instead of subordinate, while *afflixit* and *desiderat* are put in the indicative instead of in the infinitive. Logically the thought demanded: *hoc queo dicere, cum eis viribus non sim quibus fuerim, tamen me non afflixisse senectutem, non curiam desiderare.* Note that *queo* unaccompanied by a negative is rare.

2. **eis viribus**: Ablative of Quality.

3. **miles bello Punico**: in 217 B.C.

quaestor eodem bello: in 204 B.C.

4. **consul in Hispania**: in 195 B.C. In honor of Cato's successes here, the Senate decreed a three days' thanksgiving. Cato declared that he had captured more cities in Spain than he had spent days in the province.

5. **tribunus militaris**: this was in 191 B.C., in the war against Antiochus.

cum depugnavi: *cum* with the indicative to denote the point of time at which; *depugno* is 'to fight it out,' 'fight to the end.'

7. **non, non, etc.**: observe the emphasis produced by the repetition of the *non*.

9. **clientes**: including not only his political followers at Rome, but also those foreign nations or cities whose protector he was. Cicero (Brutus 20, 80) tells us that Cato in the last year of his life publicly spoke in defence of his clients, the Lusitanians, who had been the victims of the treachery of Servius Galba.

hospites: *guest-friends;* strangers at Rome who had relations of hospitality with Cato.

Nec enim: *nor indeed.*

11. **mature fieri senem**, etc.: the saying obviously means: 'Begin early to exercise the discretion of age, if you would live to a good old age.' Cato's criticism of the proverb is based upon a misinterpretation of its real significance. He takes it as though it were intended to mean: 'Begin early to cultivate the inactivity of age, if you would remain an old man long.' The infinitive with *moneo* is less common than a subjunctive clause, but is admissible when *moneo* lacks a personal object.

12. **me senem esse mallem**: *volo*, *nolo*, *malo* more commonly take the infinitive without subject accusative to denote another action of the same subject; *mallem* here represents the apodosis of a contrary-to-fact conditional sentence, the protasis of which is omitted, — *I should prefer* (*were I bold enough to express a preference*). Cf. the use of *vellem*, above, l. 1.

13. **ante quam essem**: subjunctive by attraction.

convenire me: = *to have an interview with me.*

14. **cui fuerim occupatus**: lit. *to whom I have been engaged*, *i.e.* whom I have refused to see. The subjunctive is one of Characteristic.

At minus habeo: *at*, as above, p. 9, l. 24, introduces the view of an opponent, — *but*, *you may urge*, etc.

15. **T. Ponti centurionis**: the centurions were usually men of great strength and stature. Nothing further is known of the Pontius here referred to.

17. **praestantior**: *a better man.*

Moderatio modo virium adsit: *let there only be a control over one's strength.* The subjunctive is Jussive, with the accessory force of a Proviso.

18. **ne ille**: *such a man, I assure you;* this is the asseverative *ne*. In its use it is restricted to combination with pronouns, — personal, demonstrative, and possessive. It regularly precedes the word which it emphasizes.

non desiderio tenebitur: *will not be possessed with longing for*, *i.e.* will not feel the lack of. Cf. *desidero*, above, p. 12, l. 8.

19. **Olympiae per stadium**, etc.: according to the story Milo had carried the animal daily as it grew. Quintilian, I, 9. 5.

20. **cum sustineret bovem**: *carrying an ox;* another circumstantial *cum*-clause; see note on p. 8, l. 13.

21. **igitur**: merely transitional, as p. 7, l. 29.

has corporis: sc. *vires*.

Pythagorae: Pythagoras was a townsman of Milo, a fact which lends additional force to the comparison.

22. **utare**: the command is general; hence the indefinite second singular. A. & G. 266, *a*; B. 356, 3; G. 263, 2, *a*; H. 484, IV, n. 2.

23. **dum adsit, cum absit**: the subjunctive is the result of attraction. Notice the chiastic arrangement in:

utare, dum adsit: cum absit, ne requiras.

ne requiras: this form of prohibition is unusual in prose; *noli* with the infinitive is far commoner. The subject of *requiras* is general, just as was the case with *utare*.

nisi forte: see note on p. 8, l. 26.

24. **pueritiam, adulescentiam**: *boyhood, young manhood.*

paululum aetate progressi: referring to those in middle life.

25. **Cursus est certus aetatis**: *there is a regular course of life.*

26. **suaque . . . tempestivitas**: *and to each part of life its proper character* (lit. *seasonableness*) *is allotted.*

27. **infirmitas puerorum**: *the helplessness of children.*

28. **ferocitas**: *impetuosity.*

gravitas: *steadiness.*

iam constantis: *already settled, i.e.* middle (life).

29. **naturale quiddam**: *a certain natural* (*product*), as shown by *percipi*, 'to be reaped.'

30. **quod debeat**: Subjunctive of Characteristic.

31. **hospes tuus avitus**: *the guest-friend of your grandfather, i.e.* of the elder Africanus, between whom and Masinissa there existed a strong friendship.

32. **Masinissa**: king of the Numidians. In the Second Punic War he was at the outset an ally of the Carthaginians, but later became a supporter of the Romans.

hodie: *i.e.* still.

15. 1. **pedibus**: *on foot.*

omnino non ascendere: *does not mount at all.*

3. **imbri**: *imber* is not properly an *i*-stem, but has taken on the *i*-stem inflection in the ablative singular.

capite operto: Ablative of Quality.

4. **siccitatem**: *soundness; siccitas*, lit. 'dryness,' is opposed to that physical state in which the body is affected with unwholesome humors.

5. **officia et munera**: *functions and duties;* a favorite phrase with Cicero. The two words are here closely synonymous, and illustrate Cicero's fondness for grouping synonyms in pairs.

Potest, etc.: as the position indicates, *potest* is specially emphatic, — *it is possible, therefore, for exercise and self-control to preserve*, etc.

8. **Ne sint**, etc.: *granting that there is not strength in old age*, lit. *let there not be strength.*

9. **a senectute**: *of old age.*

10. **muneribus eis quae**, etc.: military service is meant.

11. **non modo**: here used for *non modo non.* This occurs regularly when the idea modified by *non modo* (*non*) is reserved for a second member introduced by *ne . . . quidem.*

quod non possumus: as antecedent of *quod*, understand *id*, Accusative of Result with *cogimur.* A. & G. 238, *b*; B. 176, 2, *b*; G. 333, 1; H. 371, II.

13. **At multi**: *at* is here again used to introduce the view of an imaginary opponent; but below in *at id quidem*, *at* introduces Cato's own reply.

14. **nullum offici aut omnino vitae munus exsequi**: *no function of duty nor any function of life at all.* Under *offici munera* would fall obligations to the state, to one's family, or friends; under *vitae munera*, the ordinary care of one's person and attention to one's personal wants.

16. **valetudinis**: primarily *health*, but unless accompanied by some such word as *bona*, it ordinarily means *poor health;* so here.

P. Africani filius: son of the elder Africanus; his feeble health prevented his entering public life.

18. **Quod ni ita fuisset**: *unless this had been so;* on *ni* for *nisi*, see note on p. 29, l. 10.

alterum lumen: *the second light;* the elder Africanus was the first.

illud: *he* (*i.e. Africani filius*), attracted from *ille* by the neuter predicate noun, *lumen.*

exstitisset: lit. *would have stood forth.*

19. **paternam**: *his father's.*

21. **in senibus**: *in case of old men.*

22. **Resistendum**: emphatic, as shown by the position,—*the thing to do, Laelius and Scipio, is to resist old age.*

24. **pugnandum**: sc. *est.*

tamquam, sic: *just as, so.*

26. **utendum**: *one must use.*

tantum cibi: (*only*) *so much food.*

27. **ut reficiantur vires, non opprimantur**: Subjunctive of Result.

28. **subveniendum est**: *we must come to the relief of.*

29. **menti atque animo**: when used with precision *mens* refers to the intellect, *animus* to the feelings and will; together the two words embrace all the mental and moral faculties.

haec quoque: *i.e. mens* and *animus.*

30. **nisi tamquam**, etc.: *tamquam* ('apologetic'; see note on p. 3, l. 19) modifies the entire phrase *lumini oleum instilles*,—'unless, so to speak, one keeps pouring oil into the lamp,' *i.e.* the oil of study and reflection into the lamp of the mind; on *instilles*, cf. p. 14, l. 22, with note.

31. **corpora quidem**: *quidem* serves merely to emphasize *corpora*, and so to heighten the antithesis between *corpora ingravescunt* and *animi levantur.*

32. **exercendo**: *by exercising them.* Ordinarily the subject of the gerund is the same as that of the verb with which the gerund is grammatically connected. Not so here; the subject of *levantur* is *animi;* while the subject of *exercendo* is general, 'by a man's using them.'

16. 1. **quos ait**, etc.: (*those*) *whom Caecilius characterizes as the foolish old men of the comic stage; ait* here takes the construction (unusual for this verb) of two accusatives, direct object and predicate accusative.

comicos, stultos senes: the quotation is from Caecilius's Epiclērus ('The Heiress').

hos significat, etc.: *by these he means*, etc.; lit. *he means these* (*as being*) *credulous*, etc.; here again we have two accusatives, direct object and predicate accusative, a construction not elsewhere found with *significo;* but cf. Cic. de Finibus, II, 14, 45, *Honestum igitur id intellegimus.*

2. **credulos**: the credulous father is a stock figure of Latin comedy.

dissolutos: *shattered, broken down.*

quae vitia: *faults which;* cf. *quem magistratum*, p. 5, l. 17.

3. **inertis, ignavae**: *iners* implies merely a lack of activity, *ignavus* refers rather to the disinclination to be active.

4. **petulantia, libido**: *wantonness, lust.*

6. **sed non proborum**: *but (merely) of those who are not upright; non proborum* is less abrupt than *improborum* would have been.

seniles: = *senum*, — the adjective for the genitive of the substantive, as often in Latin.

7. **deliratio**: *dotage.*

9. **tantam, tantas**: *i.e.* so great, as is well known, hence nearly equivalent to *magnam, permagnam.*

Appius: Appius Claudius Caecus; see p. 8, l. 3.

10. **intentum**: *stretched.*

11. **languescens**: the participle has the force of an adverb, — *feebly.*

12. **auctoritatem**: referring possibly to the *patria potestas*, which gave the father absolute control over his children.

imperium: stronger than *auctoritas;* technically *imperium* designated the absolute power with which the higher Roman magistrates (*consul* and *praetor*) were formally invested by the *Comitia Curiata.* The word is here figuratively applied to a private individual.

13. **verebantur**: *reverenced.*

14. **patrius**: *inherited from the fathers, i.e.* 'the good old.'

mos: in English we should employ the plural.

15. **Ita enim**: *for on this condition; ita* is explained by the following *si*-clauses.

honesta: *honorable, held in honor.*

16. **emancipata est**: *is in bondage*, lit. *is sold; emancipare* primarily meant 'to transfer,' and was used not only of property and slaves, but also of freemen. Later it came to be used of the formal act of sale by which slaves were liberated, and so acquired the meaning *set free*, — the exact opposite of the meaning in our passage.

18. **senile aliquid**: *a touch of the old man.*

20. **quod qui sequitur**: *he who makes this his object.*

21. **septimus liber Originum**: Cato's Origines was an historical work. The second and third books treated of the origin and settlement of the Italian towns, whence the title of the work. Of the remaining books, the first dealt with the regal period, the fourth and fifth with the First and Second Punic wars; the sixth and seventh brought the history down to Cato's own day.

est in manibus: *i.e. is under way;* cf. *habebat in manibus*, p. 10, l. 15.

23. **nunc cum maxime**: *now especially, just now.* This expression, which is fairly frequent, results from an ellipsis; thus here the full thought would have been expressed by *nunc conficio cum maxime conficio*, 'I am now preparing, at a time when I am especially preparing,' *i.e.* 'I am preparing now especially.' Sometimes *cum maxime* alone stands in the same sense.

24. **conficio**: *i.e.* prepare for publication. One hundred and fifty of Cato's speeches were known to Cicero, as he himself elsewhere tells us, Brutus, 17, 65.

ius augurium, pontificium, civile: *ius augurium* was the code of the augurs; the *ius pontificium* emanated from the *pontifices*, who had the oversight and direction of the religious observances of the state; *ius civile* seems here to be contrasted with *ius augurium* and *ius pontificium*, *i.e.* the secular jurisprudence is opposed to the religious.

25. **multum utor**: *make much use.* On this adverbial use of *multum*, originally an Accusative of Result, see A. & G. 238, *a*; B. 176, 3.

Pythagoreorum more: in the so-called 'Golden Verses' (χρυσᾶ ἔπη), formerly attributed to Pythagoras, occur the lines:

> *μηδ' ὕπνον μαλακοῖσιν ἐπ' ὄμμασι προσδέξασθαι*
> *πρὶν τῶν ἡμερινῶν ἔργων τρὶς ἕκαστον ἐπελθεῖν·*
> *πῆ παρέβην; τί δ' ἔρεξα; τί μοι δέον οὐκ ἐτελέσθη;*
> *ἀρξάμενος δ' ἀπὸ πρώτου ἐπέξιθι καὶ μετέπειτα*
> *δειλὰ μὲν ἐκπρήξας ἐπιπλήσσεο χρηστὰ δὲ τέρπου.*

26. **exercendae memoriae gratia**: to be taken only with *commemoro*, not with *Pythagoreorum more.*

28. **Haec**: unusual form for *hae*, but found occasionally elsewhere in Cicero.

exercitationes ingeni: intellectual pursuits are contrasted with athletic training.

haec curricula mentis: as contrasted with the wrestling- or boxing-ground.

29. **desudans**: *de-* is intensive, as in *depugnavi*, p. 14, l. 5.

30. **desidero**: as p. 12, l. 8.

Adsum amicis: *I assist my friends; adesse* is used especially in the sense of rendering legal assistance.

31. **ultroque**: *of my own motion*. The Roman senators in debate were not held closely to the question before the house. Cato, therefore, simply means that when he addressed the senate he exercised his parliamentary privilege, and brought up such matters as he saw fit.

32. **easque tueor**: *I maintain them, defend them, i.e.* in debate.

17. 1. **Quas exsequi nequirem**: see note on p. 12, l. 29, *quam si exsequi nequeas.*

lectulus: a sort of reading-couch or sofa.

2. **ea ipsa cogitantem**: *planning those very things.*

quae iam agere non possem: *even though I could not carry them into execution; quae possem* is a relative clause denoting a condition contrary to fact.

3. **ut possim**: emphatic by position, — *that I can do so, is the result of my past life.*

4. **viventi**: agreeing with *ei* understood, which is Dative of Agent with *intellegitur*, — *for by a man living constantly in these pursuits and labor, it is not noticed*, etc.

5. **Ita sensim**, etc.: *so gradually does life wane;* this is the 'retrospective' *ita; i.e.* the particle looks back to the preceding sentence, of which it furnishes a justification; observe the alliteration in *sensim sine sensu senescit.*

CHAPTERS XII.–XVIII.

The third charge: Old age is devoid of pleasures. So much the better. Pleasure really a bane, and the source of all evil. Condemnation of Epicurus's theory that voluptas *is the* summum

***bonum.** This ideal un-Roman. Old men not excluded from moderate physical enjoyment. Possibilities of intellectual pleasures, — literature, law, etc. The delights of farming surpass all others. Cato's own enthusiasm for the life of the farm. Xenophon's endorsement. The satisfaction of wielding personal influence. The respect accorded old men of character.*

9. **quod . . . dicunt**, etc.: *the fact that they say it is devoid of pleasures;* explanatory of *tertia vituperatio.*

voluptatibus: *i.e.* bodily pleasures.

10. **aetatis**: here, *old age.*

11. **accipite enim . . . veterem orationem**: *for listen to the words uttered long ago.*

12. **Archytae**: *Archȳtas*, of Tarentum, a famous Pythagorean philosopher who flourished about 400 B.C. He was eminent also as a mathematician, statesman, and general.

14. **adulescens**: *as a young man;* in apposition with the subject of *essem.*

Tarenti cum Q. Maximo: see p. 5, l. 16.

16. **a natura**: nature is here personified; hence the employment of the preposition.

cuius voluptatis avidae: *through eagerness for which,* lit. *eager for which pleasure;* but the repetition of the antecedent in the relative clause cannot be reproduced in English.

17. **temere**: *blindly; temere* was originally the locative of a lost nominative *temus*, meaning 'darkness'; hence 'in the dark,' 'blindly,' later 'rashly,' 'heedlessly.'

ad potiendum; *for attaining it; i.e.* pleasure.

20. **malum facinus**: *evil deed; facinus* here has its original force of 'act,' 'deed,' which is regular in early Latin. Cicero usually employs it in the sense of 'crime.'

22. **impelleret**: sc. *homines.*

23. **flagitium**: the root *flag-*, appearing also in *flagro*, *flamma*, means 'to burn'; hence *flagitium* was primarily 'a burning shame.'

nisi: *than, except.*

24. **cumque**: *and while.*

homini: *i.e.* mankind.

sive natura sive quis deus: *be it nature or some god;* Cato does not attempt to determine which it was.

25. **muneri ac dono**: *boon and gift.* The two words are here closely synonymous. When used with precision, *donum* is the general term, *munus* is more specific, being restricted to gracious gifts, or gifts bestowed for a special purpose.

27. **libidine dominante**: the ablative absolute here denotes both time and circumstance, — 'while lust is master' or 'under the rule of lust.'

temperantiae: Dative of Possession, — *self-control has no place.*

neque omnino, etc.: *nor can virtue gain a footing at all in the realm of pleasure.*

29. **fingere animo**: *to imagine, conceive of; animo* is ablative.

30. **tanta, quanta**, etc.; *just as much pleasure as could possibly be enjoyed;* observe the emphasis secured by the position of *maxima* at the end of its clause.

32. **tam diu dum**: *so long as;* an unusual form of expression for *tam diu quam diu*, or *quam diu* alone; yet *tam diu dum* occurs in Cat. III, 16.

ita gauderet: *took enjoyment in this way, i.e.* in unrestrained self-indulgence.

agitare: *pursue.*

18. 1. **ratione**: to be joined with *consequi.*

3. **siquidem**: here in the secondary meaning of *since;* it is used differently above, p. 17, l. 10.

maior atque longinquior: *more intense and longer continued.*

5. **C. Pontio**: his full name was Gaius Pontius Herennius. His son, Gaius Pontius Telesinus, defeated the Romans at the battle of the Caudine Forks.

Caudino proelio: this disastrous defeat of the Roman arms occurred in the Second Samnite War, 321 B.C. The Roman army was forced to go 'under the yoke.'

7. **locutum Archytam**: supply *esse;* the infinitive depends upon *accepisse.*

Nearchus: a philosopher of the Pythagorean school.

hospes noster: *noster* for *meus*, as frequently.

8. **qui . . . permanserat**: *who had remained loyal to the Roman people.* Many of the Tarentines, through jealousy of

Rome, had sympathized with the Carthaginians and had handed the city over to Hannibal in 212 B.C.

9. **cum . . . interfuisset**: *Plato the Athenian having been present at that conversation;* here again *cum* is entirely devoid of temporal force, and the clause is purely circumstantial; see note on p. 8, l. 13. The *cum*-clause is to be taken, of course, only with *locutum* (*esse*).

11. **L. Camillo, Ap. Claudio consulibus**: this was in the year 349 B.C. Plato's last visit to Italy is said to have occurred in 361 B.C. Cicero, therefore, is probably in error here.

12. **Quorsus hoc**: supply *dixi* or some such word.

ut intellegeretis: the imperfect is used because the *ut*-clause is felt as depending upon *dixi* or some other verb of saying to be supplied, — *I said this in order that you might understand.* Hence also the other subordinate subjunctives in this passage are in the imperfect. In English we should use the present.

13. **magnam . . . gratiam**: *great gratitude ought to be entertained toward old age.*

14. **quae efficeret**, etc.: the relative clause has causal force, — lit. *since it brings it about that that is not pleasant, which ought not* (*to be*).

15. **libēret**: from *libet.*

16. **ut ita dicam**: *so to speak;* the phrase is introduced as an apology for the unusual metaphor *mentis oculos.*

18. **invitus feci ut eicerem**: a periphrasis for *invitus eieci.* Special emphasis rests upon *invitus,* — *it was unwillingly that I removed.*

T. Flaminini: already mentioned p. 1, l. 1.

19. **L. Flamininum**: he had served under his brother in the Macedonian War.

e senatu eicerem: this was in 184 B.C. The censors possessed the right of degrading any citizen whose conduct in their opinion merited punishment.

20. **post quam consul fuisset**: the subjunctive here is due entirely to attraction, the clause being felt as an integral part of the thought begun in *ut eicerem.* Flamininus had been consul in 192 B.C. Hence the interval was really eight years, not seven, as stated by Cicero.

notandam: *notare* was the technical term for designating the official action of the censors in rebuking the conduct of a citizen, just as *nota* was used of the 'mark' or 'brand' put upon him.

21. **libidinem**: *wantonness.*

cum esset consul in Gallia: *when he was in Gaul in his consulship. Gallia* in Cato's time applied only to cis-Alpine Gaul, *i.e.* northern Italy.

22. **a scorto**: according to the account given by Livy XXXIX, 42, the *scortum* referred to was not a woman, but a young lad with whom Flamininus sustained immoral relations. Livy further adds that the man executed was a noble Boian who had fled to Flamininus for protection.

securi feriret: *behead,* lit. *strike with the axe.* Livy says Flamininus stabbed the Boian with his own hand.

24. **Tito censore**: in 189 B.C. The censors were chosen every five years, but held office for eighteen months only.

25. **elapsus est**: *i.e.* escaped punishment.

mihi et Flacco: Cato and Flaccus were censors in 184 B.C. In 195 they had been colleagues in the consulship.

27. **quae coniungeret**: Clause of Characteristic with accessory notion of cause, *since it joined.*

imperi dedecus: *disgrace to the imperium,* with which the consul had been formally invested. See note on p. 16, l. 12.

30. **porro**: *in turn,* lit. *further on.* More commonly *porro* looks forward to the future.

mirari: *i.e.* express his wonder.

31. **Fabricium**: see note on p. 8, l. 1.

apud Pyrrhum: *i.e.* at Pyrrhus's headquarters. In 281 B.C. Pyrrhus had crossed over from Epirus to Italy to assist the Tarentines in war against the Romans.

32. **Cinea**: *Cineas,* a valued adviser of Pyrrhus. He had been a pupil of Demosthenes, and was distinguished as an orator.

quendam: the reference is to Epicurus, founder of the philosophical school that bears his name. Epicurus was born at Samos 342 B.C., and taught at Athens from 306 till his death in 270 B.C. He did not, however, as here intimated, make sensual pleasure the chief end of life. It was happiness in the sense of the highest bodily, mental, and spiritual tranquillity (ἀταραξία) that he

declared to be the *summum bonum*. Yet his doctrines easily came to be misunderstood and perverted, so that ultimately Epicureanism became synonymous with physical self-indulgence.

19. 1. **se sapientem profiteretur**: *set up for a philosopher.*

2. **ad voluptatem**: *i.e.* to pleasure as a standard or ideal.

3. **Curium, Coruncanium**: see p. 8, l. 1.

optare: *i.e.* to express the wish.

4. **ut id Samnitibus . . . persuaderetur**: *that the Samnites and Pyrrhus himself might be convinced of this; id* is the Accusative of Result retained in the passive.

6. **Vixerat**: *i.e.* had been intimate.

P. Decio: his full name was Publius Decius Mus.

7. **eum**: *i.e.* Curius.

8. **se devoverat**: this was in 295 B.C. at the Battle of Sentinum, in which the Romans defeated the combined forces of the Gauls and Samnites. Decius's grandfather, P. Decius Mus, had previously offered his life in the same way at the Battle of Veseris, 340 B.C. The act of *devotio* was a formal one, and was accompanied by a regular ceremonial. The citizen who thus 'devoted himself' put on the *cinctus Gabīnus*, and mounting a charger rode to death in the midst of the enemy. The sacrifice was believed to propitiate the gods of the lower world, and thus to ensure victory.

9. **cum . . . tum**: *not only . . . but also.*

ex eius, quem dico, Deci facto: *from the act of him whom I mention*, viz., *Decius.*

10. **natura pulchrum atque praeclarum**: *naturally noble and glorious.*

11. **quod sua sponte peteretur**, etc.: *to be sought for its own sake, and for all the best men to pursue, scorning and despising pleasure;* the subjunctives are not merely subordinate clauses in indirect discourse, but are relative clauses of purpose as well, and would be in the subjunctive even in direct statement.

13. **Quorsus**: elliptical, as p. 6, l. 21.

14. **vituperatio nulla**: *i.e.* constitutes no ground of blame.

16. **Caret . . . caret**: in the first *caret* the idea of deprivation is prominent, in the second the idea of avoiding.

17. **frequentibus poculis**: *round after round of cups.*

18. **si aliquid dandum est**: *if some concession must be made.*

20. **divine**: hardiy stronger than the English *finely* or *admirably*.

escam malorum: *the bait of sin; malorum* is Possessive Genitive. Cf. Plato, Timaeus, 69 D, *ἡδονὴν μέγιστον κακοῦ δέλεαρ*.

21. **quod videlicet**: *evidently because*.

24. **C. Duellium**: he had defeated the Carthaginian fleet off Mylae, a town on the north coast of Sicily, in 260 B.C.

25. **senem**: Duellius was probably seventy-five years old when Cato was a lad of ten.

26. **delectabatur**: Cato began by citing Duellius as an illustration of his assertion that old men can enjoy moderate banquets, but having once mentioned Duellius he goes on after the rambling fashion of an old man to relate other circumstances which have no connection whatever with the point at issue. Cf. the similar digressions, p. 5, l. 13; p. 11, l. 9; p. 24, l. 23.

nullo exemplo: *without precedent*, lit. *in accordance with no example*.

27. **privatus**: *as a private citizen*.

28. **alios**: supply *commemorem*, or some such word.

iam: *straightway*.

29. **Primum**: *in the first place; primum* leads us to expect *deinde* later on, instead of which the second point is introduced by *ego quoque*, p. 20, l. 10.

sodales: this corresponds approximately to our 'club-friends'; a *sodalis* was a member of a *sodalitas*, a club organized sometimes for social purposes only, at other times, as here, for the maintenance of a special ritual. In either case banqueting seems to have been a recognized feature of the organization.

30. **Magnae Matris**: *i.e.* in honor of the Great Mother of the gods, Cybĕle. Her Greek designation of *μεγάλη μήτηρ* suggested the name of the Megalesian Games (*Ludi Megalenses*).

me quaestore: 204 B.C.

31. **sacris Idaeis acceptis**: the ablative absolute here denotes time, — *at the time the Idaean worship was introduced*. The worship of Cybele is called Idaean because one of her chief sanctuaries was situated on Mount Ida in the Troad. The cult of Cybele was introduced in accordance with the directions of an oracle, which had bidden the Romans to bring to the city a meteoric stone worshipped as the image of Cybele at Pessĭnus in Galatia.

Epulabar igitur: *igitur* is merely transitional, as p. 7, l. 29.

32. **omnino modice**: *moderately withal.*

aetatis: here, *of youth.*

20. 1. **qua progrediente**: *and as life advances; qua*, though referring to *aetatis*, does not refer to it in the sense of *youth*, — the meaning which *aetatis* has in connection with *fervor*, — but in the general sense of *life*.

omnia fiunt mitiora: *i.e.* all pleasures grow less keen, lose their edge.

3. **coetu amicorum et sermonibus**: the logical contrast is not so much between *voluptatibus* and *coetu et sermonibus*, as between *corporis* and *coetu et sermonibus*. Cato means to say that he gauged his enjoyments not so much by pleasures of the body as by those derived from meeting his friends and talking with them.

4. **Bene enim**, etc.: *for our fathers did well in calling the reclining of friends at table a 'convivium,' because it involved a living together.*

7. **tum compotationem, tum concenationem**: *now a drinking together, now an eating together;* the Greek designations referred to are συμπόσιον and σύνδειπνον.

8. **quod in eo genere minimum est**: *what is of least consequence in that sort* (*of thing*), *i.e.* the mere satisfaction of the appetite as opposed to the delights of social intercourse.

11. **tempestivis conviviis**: *protracted banquets;* a *convivium tempestivum* was one that began early, before the usual time (2 or 3 P.M.), and so lasted long.

12. **qui pauci admodum**: *very few of whom;* for *quorum pauci admodum.*

cum vestra aetate: *i.e.* with those of your time of life.

14. **quae auxit**: the relative clause here has causal force, — *since it has increased.*

auxit, sustulit: note the adversative asyndeton, — *has increased, . . . but has removed.* B. 346, *b*.

16. **ne videar**: explaining the purpose of the assertion.

omnino: *i.e.* war to the knife, lit. *altogether.*

17. **cuius est . . . naturalis modus**: *a certain measure of which, perhaps, is justified by nature.*

18. **ne in istis quidem ipsis voluptatibus**: *even in those very pleasures; ne . . . quidem* after a negative, as p. 4, l. 30.

sensu: *feeling.*

19. **magisteria**: lit. *presidencies, i.e.* the custom of having a presiding officer (*magister bibendi*) at a banquet to direct the drinking and the talk. The *magister bibendi* was usually chosen by a throw of the dice.

20. **qui a summo adhibetur in poculo**: *which is held over the wine, beginning at the head of the table,* lit. *from the top.*

22. **minuta atque rorantia**: *rorantia* defies translation; the word is here used by Cicero to render the Greek ἐπιψεκάζω of Xenophon, Symposium, ii. 26. Literally *roro* means 'to bedew,' 'moisten'; here it suggests the few drops (as of dew) which the cups contained.

refrigeratio aestate: *a cool apartment in summer;* the temporal ablative *aestate* serves (quite irregularly) as an attributive modifier of *refrigeratio,* corresponding to *hibernus* with *sol* and *ignis.*

23. **sol aut ignis hibernus**: *sun or fire in winter.*

quae quidem: *a programme which, in fact.*

24. **in Sabinis**: *on my Sabine farm.* *Sabinis* is masculine. By a peculiar idiom the Romans used the name of a people dwelling in a district to designate an estate situated there; hence *mei Sabini, mei Tusci,* lit. *my Sabines, my Tuscans,* in the sense of 'my Sabine estate,' 'my Tuscan estate.'

convivium vicinorum compleo: *fill up the feast with my neighbors.* Verbs of filling are more commonly construed with the ablative, but occasionally take the genitive after the analogy of *plenus.*

25. **ad multam noctem quam maxime possumus**: *as far into the night as possible.*

27. **quasi titillatio**: *titillatio* properly means 'tickling'; here it is transferred to denote keenness of sensation; hence the 'apologetic' *quasi;* see note on p. 3, l. 19.

28. **desideratio**: *longing;* the word does not occur elsewhere in this sense.

nihil autem est molestum, etc.: the thought is inaccurately expressed. Cicero really means: 'the lack of a thing that you do not want, is not annoying.'

29. **Bene Sophocles**: sc. *dixit.*

31. **utereturne rebus veneriis**: *enjoyed the delights of love.*

Di meliora: elliptical for *di meliora duint* (= *dent*), — *Heaven forbid!* The quotation is from Plato, Republic, I, 329 C.

32. **istinc**: *i.e. ab istis rebus veneriis.*

21. 2. **satiatis et expletis**: the two words are closely synonymous; see note on p. 15, l. 5.

3. **Quamquam**: corrective; see p. 1, l. 7.

4. **hoc non desiderare**: *this absence of longing*; *hoc* limits the substantive idea represented by the infinitive.

5. **bona aetas**: *i.e.* youth.

6. **libentius**: *with greater zest.*

primum: *in the first place* (*I will say*).

7. **potitur**: apparently used to avoid the repetition of *fruitur*, which has already occurred twice in the sentence.

8. **Turpione Ambivio**: *Ambivius Turpio*, an actor and theatrical manager of the time of Terence, in whose plays he often appeared. When the *praenomen* is omitted the two other names are occasionally transposed as here. Such transposition is relatively rare in Cicero, but occurs with great frequency in later writers, especially Tacitus.

9. **in prima cavea**: *in the front part of the theatre;* the name *cavea*, lit. *hollow space*, was applied to the sloping rows of seats in a theatre.

spectat: used absolutely, — *looks on.*

delectatur tamen, etc.: *yet he also is pleased who looks on from the back part* (*of the theatre*); supply *cavea* with *ultima*, and *spectat* with *qui.*

11. **propter**: adverbial, — (*from*) *near at hand.*

12. **tantum quantum sat est**: modifying *delectatur;* the expression is periphrastic for the simple *satis*, 'sufficiently'; *sat*, for *satis*, is archaic.

13. **At illa quanti sunt animum . . . secum esse**, etc.: *but what a precious thing it is for the mind to be with itself*, etc. *Illa* is explained by the following appositional infinitives *esse* and *vivere.* The singular, *illud*, might have been used instead of *illa; quanti* is Genitive of Value.

14. **tamquam emeritis stipendiis libidinis**: *having finished the service of lust, so to speak; stipendia emereri* lit. means *to serve out one's campaigns*, *i.e.* to serve the number prescribed by

law. The boldness of the figure calls forth the 'apologetic' particle *tamquam*. The Roman writers are particularly fond of military figures.

15. **secumque, ut dicitur, vivere**: *ut dicitur*, like *quod aiunt*, p. 9, l. 30, indicates that the expression was a current or proverbial one.

16. **aliquod tamquam pabulum**, etc.: *some food for study, so to speak; pabulum* is properly *fodder* for animals; hence the 'apologetic' *tamquam*.

18. **otiosa**: *i.e.* free from public service or responsibility.

Exerceri: *engaged*. On the reading see Critical Appendix.

19. **paene**: limiting *caeli et terrae*.

C. Gallum: Gaius Sulpicius Gallus, a man eminent as an astronomer. He served under L. Aemilius in the campaign against Perseus, and by his prediction of an eclipse saved the army from panic. In 166 B.C. he filled the office of consul.

20. **patris tui**: *i.e.* Aemilius Paulus.

21. **describere**: *i.e.* to draw some chart astronomical or geographical.

oppressit: *surprised*.

22. **quam delectabat eum**: *how it delighted him!* The subject of *delectabat* is *praedicere*.

23. **multo ante**: *i.e.* long before the actual eclipse.

24. **levioribus**: *less severe*.

acutis: *i.e.* demanding *keenness, acumen*.

25. **bello Punico Naevius**: the allusion is to Naevius's celebrated epic poem in Saturnian verse on the First Punic War, in which Naevius had taken an active part. Only a few fragments of this work have come down to us.

quam Truculento Plautus, quam Pseudolo: T. Maccius Plautus, the greatest Roman writer of comedy, lived from 254 to 184 B.C. Among the twenty plays of Plautus that have been preserved, the Truculentus takes low rank; the Pseudolus, on the other hand, is one of the best.

26. **Vidi etiam senem Livium**: *I saw Livius too when he was an old man*. The reference is to Livius Andronicus (283–204 B.C.), not to be confounded with the historian Livy (Titus Livius Patavinus), who lived more than two centuries later. Livius Androni-

cus, though not the first Latin writer, was the real pioneer of Roman literature. He had come to Rome as a slave after the capture of Tarentum (272 B.C.), and in 240 B.C., six years before the birth of Cato, had brought out the first play at Rome. One of his most celebrated works was the translation of the Odyssey into Saturnians.

27. **cum fabulam docuisset**: *having brought out a play;* another circumstantial *cum*-clause; see p. 8, l. 13; *fabulam docere*, lit. 'teach a play,' *i.e.* teach the actors their parts, is the regular phrase for 'bringing out a play.'

29. **Quid**: *why?*

30. **P. Licini Crassi**: see note on p. 12, l. 20.

31. **huius P. Scipionis**: *the Publius Scipio now living;* the reference is to P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum.

his paucis diebus: *a few days ago*, lit. in the *course of these few days.*

22. 1. **senes**: *when old men.*

2. **M. Cethegum**: mentioned p. 5, l. 18, as a colleague of Tuditanus in the consulship (204 B.C.).

Suadae medullam: *the quintessence* (lit. *marrow*) *of Persuasion*, *i.e.* of eloquence. *Suadae* is a translation of the Greek *Πειθώ.*

3. **exerceri**: as p. 21, l. 18.

6. **comparandae**: sc. *sunt*, *deserve to be compared.*

7. **prudentibus et bene institutis**: *in case of wise and well-trained men;* Dative of Reference.

8. **honestum**: *i.e.* does its author credit: *honestus* when applied to things often means 'conferring honor.'

illud Solonis quod ait: *that observation of Solon, which he makes.*

9. **versiculo quodam**: see note on p. 11, l. 30. The verse was a dactylic pentameter; hence the diminutive *versiculus*, as denoting a verse shorter than the hexameter.

13. **nec**: correlative with *et* after *senectute.*

14. **ad sapientis vitam**: *i.e. to the* (*ideal*) *life of a philosopher.*

proxime accedere: *to make the nearest approach.*

15. **Habent rationem**, etc.: the whole passage abounds in mercantile figures: *habent rationem*, 'keep account'; *numquam recu*

sat imperium, 'never refuses their draft'; *nec umquam sine usura reddit*, 'never passes a dividend.' See Critical Appendix.

cum terra: *with Mother Earth; terra* is here personified, being conceived as the banker with whom account is kept.

17. **alias**: here = *sometimes*, correlative with the following *plerumque.*

19. **vis ac natura**: *power and nature.*

20. **Quae cum**, etc.: explanatory of the foregoing sentence, — *for when she*, etc.

gremio: *on her bosom:* the ablative is strictly instrumental, though doubtless possessing, even to the Roman mind, a slight locative force.

mollito ac subacto: *broken up and made mellow, i.e.* by ploughing; hysteron proteron, B. 374, 7; H. 636, V. 2.

21. **primum occaecatum**, etc.: *first she holds it in hiding, from which (circumstance) the (process) which accomplishes that is called 'occatio' (harrowing).* Cicero means that the Romans applied the name *occatio* to harrowing because that operation hid (*occaecavit*) the seed under the surface of the soil; but this etymology, like so many others suggested by ancient writers, is purely fanciful and phonetically impossible.

22. **quae hoc efficit, nominata est**: both the relative *quae* and the subject of *nominata est* have been attracted into the gender of the predicate noun *occatio.* Logically we should have expected *quod* and *nominatum est*, but attraction is practically the rule in cases like this.

deinde tepefactum vapore, etc.: *then when she has warmed it (the seed) with the heat of her embrace, she makes it expand;* note the hendiadys in *vapore et compressu.*

23. **elicit**: *brings forth.*

24. **herbescentem viriditatem**: *the green-growing plant*, lit. *the bladed greenness.*

stirpium: we should have expected *stirpis.*

25. **erecta**: with reflexive force, — *raising itself.*

26. **vaginis**: *i.e.* each new joint is protected by a sheath or bract.

iam quasi pubescens: *with the down of youth, so to speak, already upon it; pubesco* strictly applies to boys whose cheeks are

just beginning to show the down of youth. Cicero here applies the word to a growing plant, but with an apology (*quasi*) for the boldness of the figure.

e quibus: *i.e.* from the *vaginae*.

27. **fundit**: *brings forth;* suggesting abundance.

spici ordine structam: *arranged in regular ears*, lit. *in the orderliness of the ear.* Note that Cicero here uses *spicum, i;* the usual word is *spica, ae.*

29. **Quid**: *why?*

ortus, satus: *ortus* seems to refer to the springing up of vines, *satus* to their planting. Observe the use of the plural to denote repeated instances.

30. **ut noscatis**: not the purpose of *satiari*, but of Cato's statement, — 'this I say that you may know.'

32. **vim ipsam**: *i.e. the natural capacity.*

omnium: neuter; = *omnium rerum;* see note on p. 2, l. 8.

quae generantur e terra: a circumlocution for *plants*, for which Latin has no single word.

28. 1. **tantulo**: *i.e. so tiny* as we know them.

acini vinaceo: *the stone of a grape.*

3. **procreet**: Subjunctive of Characteristic, with accessory notion of cause, — *since it brings forth.*

Malleoli, plantae, sarmenta, viviradices, propagines: *mallets, sprouts, cuttings, divisions, layers.* A "layer" (*propago*) is a shoot whose tip, either naturally or artificially, has become embedded in the earth and has taken root. Our black raspberry propagates itself naturally in this way. A "division" (*viviradix*) is the name technically applied to a vertical section of a plant, retaining a part of the stem and root of the parent. "Cuttings" (*sarmenta*) are clipped from terminal twigs; cf. *sarpo*, 'prune,' 'clip the ends.' "Sprouts" (*plantae*) are the slender shoots that spring up about the base of a shrub or tree, or at times appear sporadically on the trunk itself. "Mallets" (*malleoli*) differ from "cuttings" in that they are cut in the particular shape indicated by their name.

4. **nonne efficiunt ut delectent**: merely a periphrasis for *nonne delectant?* Cf. p. 18, l. 18, *invitus feci ut eicerem.*

5. **quemvis**: *i.e.* even the least appreciative observer.

cum admiratione delectent: *i.e.* fill with admiration and delight.

6. **natura caduca est**: *is naturally trailing.*

fertur: *sinks.*

7. **eadem**: to be taken with *vitis*, — *the vine again.*

8. **serpentem multiplici cursu et erratico**: *winding in manifold and straggling course.*

9. **ferro**: *i.e.* the pruning-knife.

10. **ars agricolarum**: *the skilful husbandmen*, the abstract for the concrete.

11. **nimia**: *too far.*

12. **in eis**: *i.e. in those shoots.*

quae relicta sunt: viz., after pruning, hence those shoots which have not been clipped in the pruning process.

tamquam ad articulos: *at the joints, so to speak; articulus* properly applies to the joint in an animal organism; hence the necessity of some apologetic particle here.

13. **ea quae gemma dicitur**: by attraction for *id quod gemma dicitur* (see note on p. 22, l. 22); *gemma* meant originally 'outgrowth,' 'bud' (*gemma* for **gen-ma*, root *gen-*, seen in *gen-us*, *genitus*); the meaning 'gem,' 'jewel,' was a secondary development. Cicero apparently imagined the reverse to be true.

14. **suco**: *moisture.*

16. **nec . . . et**: correlative, as p. 22, l. 13.

17. **ardores**: the plural as in *ortus*, *satus*, p. 22, l. 29.

18. **cum . . . tum**: *either . . . or.*

fructu laetius, aspectu pulchrius: *pleasanter to enjoy, fairer to behold.* Notice that *laetus* is here transferred in meaning from *glad* to *gladdening;* so below, l. 32; *fructu* and *aspectu* are nouns, not supines.

20. **adminiculorum ordines**: *rows of stakes*, to support the vines.

21. **capitum iugatio**: joining the tops of the stakes by cross-pieces, a method still practised in Italian vineyards.

religatio et propagatio: *tying up and training; religatio* occurs only here; *propagatio* refers to guiding the course of the new growth and giving the fresh shoots the proper direction.

23. **aliorum immissio**: *the allowing others to grow*, viz., those

spoken of above as *quae relicta sunt; immissio* occurs only here in this sense, but *immitto* in the sense of 'let grow' is well attested.

24. **repastinationesque**: *i.e.* digging up the earth with the *pastinum*, a two-pronged fork.

26. **dixi**: *i.e.* about those things.

eo libro, quem de rebus rusticis scripsi: the reference is to Cato's de Agricultura, a work on farming, which has come down to us. The discussion of manuring is in chapter 28 of that treatise.

27. **de qua doctus Hesiodus**: *about which Hesiod, with all his learning, said never a word, though he wrote on farming.* On Hesiod, see note on p. 10, l. 19. Hesiod's treatment of farming is found in his Works and Days. Note the fine scorn of Cato at this serious defect in the work of his Greek predecessor.

28. **At Homerus**: Homer, in Cato's opinion, has done somewhat better.

29. **multis ante saeculis fuit**: *lived many generations earlier; fuit = vixit.*

Laërtam lenientem desiderium: *Laërtes endeavoring to assuage the longing;* conative use of the present participle. The allusion seems to be to the picture of Laërtes given in Odyssey, XXIV, 226, but in that passage there is no mention of manuring. Laërtes is simply represented as digging about the roots of the plants.

30. **quod capiebat e filio**: *which he felt for his son*, viz., the absent Ulysses, lit. *which he took from* (*in consequence of*) *his son.*

colentem et eum stercorantem: these show the means,— *assuaging his longing by tilling the ground and manuring it.* When two verbs govern the same object, it is unusual to express the pronoun with the second as here.

31. **facit**: *represents.*

segetibus: standing crops of grain; this and the following ablatives denote cause.

32. **res rusticae**: *farm life.*

laetae: *pleasant*, as above, l. 18.

24. 1. **hortis**: *vegetable gardens.*

2. **florum omnium**: *flowers of all kinds.*

3. **consitiones, insitiones**: *planting* (of trees), *grafting.*

5. **Possum persequi**: *I might enumerate.* The Latin commonly employs the indicative of *possum* in cases like this, where the English idiom would lead us to expect the subjunctive.

6. **ea ipsa**: sc. *oblectamenta*, — *these very attractions.*

7. **longiora**: *i.e.* have been dwelt upon at too great length.

Ignoscetis autem: *but pardon me;* as frequently, the future indicative has imperative force.

8. **provectus sum**: *I have been carried on.*

loquacior: *rather talkative.*

9. **ne videar**: see note on *ne indixisse videar*, p. 20, l. 16.

Ergo in hac vita: the emphasis rests upon the phrase *in hac vita*, — *this, now, is the kind of life in which Manius Curius spent the close of his days.*

10. **Curius**: see note on p. 8, l. 1.

de Samnitibus: *over the Samnites.*

12. **Cuius quidem**, etc.: the mention of Curius's name irresistibly leads Cato to relate a famous incident illustrative of Curius's character. That Cato himself feels this to be a digression, is clearly shown by the words below (l. 19): *sed venio ad agricolas, ne a me ipso recedam.*

15. **Samnites . . . repudiati sunt**: this incident occurred after the subjugation of the Samnites. Curius had become their *patronus* at Rome, and the gold had been brought as a gift, not as a bribe; nevertheless he refused it.

16. **non enim**: *non* belongs closely with *aurum habere*, — *he said it was not the possession of gold that seemed excellent to him, but commanding those who had it.*

18. **Poteratne**: *-ne* regularly derives its force from the context; here it is equivalent to *num.*

19. **non iucundum**: *other than pleasant.* Cf. p. 4, l. 31, *non gravis.*

20. **ne a me ipso recedam**: *lest I wander from my subject.*

In agris: emphatic, — *the country in those days was the home of senators; tum* does not refer to the time of Curius, but simply in a general way to the early days. Cincinnatus lived a century and a half before Curius.

21. **id est senes**: *i.e. senator* by its very derivation implies *senex.*

si quidem aranti, etc.: *aranti* is the emphatic word, — *if indeed L. Quinctius Cincinnatus was ploughing, when the news was brought*, etc.

L. Quinctio Cincinnato: Cincinnatus was twice dictator, 458 and 439 B.C.

22. **esse factum**: we should have expected *dictum esse*, *dictatorem dicere* being the technical phrase for 'to appoint a dictator.'

23. **cuius dictatoris iussu**: *by whose command when dictator*; another digression; see note on p. 5, l. 13.

24. **Sp. Maelium**: viz. in 439 B.C. In a time of great scarcity Maelius had sold grain at a merely nominal price, and thus incurred the charge of aiming at regal power. When summoned before Cincinnatus, he refused to appear. Thereupon Ahala attacked and killed him; but for this high-handed act, he was himself arraigned, and escaped punishment only by withdrawing into voluntary exile.

occupatum interemit: *forestalled and put to death*; *occupatum* means that Ahala prevented Maelius from executing his alleged design.

25. **A villa**, etc.: *'twas from their country estates that Curius and the rest were summoned.*

26. **ceteri senes**: *i.e.* the others whom everybody recalls.

ex quo: *in consequence of which.*

viatores: lit. *travellers*; the very name of the officials who gave the notification is held by Cato to show that the men notified lived at a distance from the city.

27. **horum qui**: not, *of those who* (which would be *eorum qui*), but, *of these men (I have mentioned)*, *in as much as they*, etc.

28. **agri cultione**: for the usual *agri cultura.*

mea quidem sententia: *in my opinion, at least*, whatever others may think.

29. **haud scio an nulla**, etc.: *I am inclined to think that none*, etc. This is the regular force of *haud scio an* in Cicero. B. 300, 5.

30. **officio**: *as regards the occupation*, lit. *function, duty.*

31. **salutaris**: *wholesome.*

25. 1. **ad cultum deorum**: *i.e.* the farm supplies the first fruits and the victims offered to the gods.

2. **ut in gratiam iam cum voluptate redeamus**: *so that we are already getting on good terms again with pleasure;* alluding to Cato's earnest invective against pleasure in chapter xii.

4. **olearia**: sc. *cella.* Butter was practically unknown to the Romans; olive oil took its place, as it does still in Italy.

penaria: sc. *cella*, *pantry*, *larder.*

5. **locuples**: *i.e.* richly supplied.

porco, haedo, agno, gallina: *pork*, *kid's flesh*, *lamb*, *poultry;* all these words are here used with collective force.

6. **Iam**: *moreover;* here used as a particle of transition.

7. **succidiam alteram**: *the second meat supply*, lit. *the second flitch; succidia* properly designates a 'side' or 'flitch' of bacon. Cato means that the products of the garden are so many and so valuable that they constitute a safe reliance, should flesh be lacking.

Conditiora, etc.: *fowling and hunting give these things* (*i.e.* the attractions already enumerated) *a greater zest by occupying one's leisure.* Special emphasis rests upon *conditiora*, but it is very difficult to bring this out in translation.

11. **brevi praecidam**: *I will cut off* (*all further remarks*) *with* (*this*) *brief statement.* As object of *praecidam* understand *sermonem* or some similar word; *brevi* is explained by what follows.

Agro bene culto, etc.: the emphasis rests on *agro*, — *as compared with a well-tilled farm nothing can be*, etc.

13. **invitat atque allectat**: synonyms, as p. 15, l. 5.

14. **illa aetas**: *i.e. men of that time of life.*

15. **calescere vel apricatione melius vel igni**: *bask more comfortably in the sun or by the fire.*

16. **aquis**: this probably refers to baths.

refrigerari: *cool themselves;* reflexive.

Sibi habeant: *let them keep to themselves;* as subject of *habeant* understand *iuvenes.*

17. **clavam**: the *clava* was a kind of foil used by soldiers in practice.

18. **pilam**: various games of ball were played by the Romans, but none in which the bat was used.

19. **ex lusionibus multis**: *out of many sports.*

talos et tesseras: *tali*, lit. 'knuckle bones,' were dice with

four flat sides and two round ones; the *tesserae* had six sides like our dice.

20. **id ipsum ut lubebit**: *even that (they may do or not) as they please; i.e.* they may either grant the dice or withhold them; *id ipsum* is the object of some verb to be supplied, —*faciant*, for example.

24. **copiose**: *eloquently*, lit. *abundantly*, *fully*.

25. **qui est, qui inscribitur**: we should naturally expect a connective with *qui inscribitur*, — 'and which is entitled;' its absence is usually explained as due to the parenthetical nature of the clause *qui est de tuenda re.*

de tuenda re familiari: *on the care of property.*

Oeconomicus: this work, as its name suggests, treats of the management of an estate (οἶκος, νομέω).

26. **ut intellegatis**: see note on p. 22, l. 30, *ut noscatis.*

regale: *princely*, *i.e.* worthy of a prince.

27. **in eo libro**: viz. in chapter iv., sections 20–25.

loquitur cum Critobulo: *in conversation with Critobūlus says;* Critobulus was a disciple of Socrates.

28. **Cyrum minorem, Persarum regem**: Cyrus, the Younger, who fell at Cunaxa (401 B.C.) in the attempt to wrest the throne from his brother Artaxerxes. See Xenophon, Anabasis, I, 7–9. Cyrus was never king, but simply the son of King Darius, and satrap of the provinces of Lydia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia; hence *regem* in this passage means no more than 'prince,' 'ruler.'

29. **Lysander Lacedaemonius**: the distinguished Spartan leader; he commanded at Aegospotami, 405 B.C.

30. **vir summae virtutis**: *a man of the greatest ability; virtutis* here cannot refer to high moral worth; Lysander's character was not above reproach.

ad eum Sardis: *to him at Sardis. Sardis* (=Σάρδεις) is accusative plural. A. & G. 259, *h*; B. 182, 2, *b*; G. 337, 6. Sardis was the capital of Cyrus's satrapy.

31. **a sociis**: *i.e.* the Lacedaemonians and the other Peloponnesian states that were leagued against Athens in the Peloponnesian War. Cyrus assisted Lysander and the Spartans with large sums of money in this struggle. His object was to secure Spartan assistance in carrying out his designs upon the throne of Persia.

et (ceteris): *et* is correlative with *et* following *fuisse.*

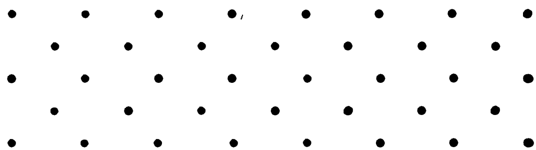
32. **humanum**: *kindly.*

26. 1. **consaeptum agrum**: *park;* this phrase is used to render the Greek παράδεισος; hence the absence of *et* before *consitum.*

consitum: *planted* with trees, in rows or groups.

2. **proceritates**: the plural, because there were many trees (*arbores*), each of which was *procera.*

3. **in quincuncem**: *quincunx* was the name of the five-spot on a die ⁙. Hence *in quincuncem* is used to designate an arrangement of trees by which the lines run diagonally as in the following diagram:



4. **subactam**: *i.e.* carefully cultivated. Cf. p. 22, l. 20.

puram: *i.e.* free from weeds, stones, etc.

5. **afflarentur**: *were wafted.*

eum dixisse: dependent on *loquitur* above.

7. **dimensa atque discripta**: *laid out and arranged;* note the passive use of the deponent *dimensa*; cf. *adeptam*, p. 3, l. 1.

8. **ego ista sum dimensus**: *ego* is emphatic; *I am the one who laid out these things that you see.*

mei sunt ordines, etc.: *mine are the rows, mine the arrangement.*

11. **purpuram**: *i.e.* his purple robe.

nitorem corporis: *the elegance of his person.*

12. **multo auro multisque gemmis**: Ablative of Quality.

Rite, etc.: *with reason do they call you happy.*

13. **ferunt**: the subject is general, —*people.*

quoniam virtuti tuae fortuna coniuncta est: as shown by the word order, the emphasis rests upon *virtuti,* —*with reason do people call you happy, since it is to inherent worth* (virtus) *that your prosperity is joined.* Cyrus's *virtus* is recognized by Lysander in his personal attention to the improvement of his estate; *fortuna*

refers to his advantages as a prince, — *purpura*, *nitor*, *gemmae*, *aurum*. See Critical Appendix.

14. **Hac igitur fortuna**: *this now is the happy lot; igitur*, as so frequently, simply resumes the substance of the foregoing discussion, — here of chapters xv. and xvi. on the delights of farm life.

15. **aetas**: *old age.*

impedit: the object (*nos*) is omitted, being readily supplied in thought from the following *quominus* clause.

et (ceterarum rerum) et (agri colendi): the English idiom here is *either . . . or.*

16. **usque ad ultimum**: *up to the very last.*

17. **M. Valerium Corvinum**: in the Gallic War of 349 B.C. M. Valerius Corvinus defeated a gigantic Gaul in single combat. During the struggle a raven (*corvus*) is said to have perched upon Corvinus's helmet, and to have lent him assistance by flying in the face of his antagonist; whence the surname *Corvinus.*

18. **perduxisse**: sc. *studia agri colendi*, — *continued the pursuits of farming.*

19. **cum esset . . . coleret**: *still remaining on the farm and cultivating it after his life was already spent; aetas* here covers the period of an ordinary lifetime, corresponding to our "three score years and ten." For the *cum*-clauses, see note on p. 8, l. 13; for *acta aetate* we should have expected *exacta aetate.*

20. **primum et sextum consulatum**: Corvinus's first consulship was in 349 B.C., his sixth in 299. Cicero's reckoning, therefore, betrays an error.

22. **maiores**: supply in sense *nostri.*

ad senectutis initium: *up to the beginning of old age, i.e.* from birth. Old age (*senectus*) properly began at sixty, but Cicero is here thinking rather of the *aetas seniorum*, the time when men became exempt from military service; this was at forty-six.

esse voluerunt: *allowed*, lit. *wished to be.*

23. **cursus honorum**: the technical expression denoting official career, including all offices from the quaestorship to the consulship.

huius extrema aetas: *the latter part of his life.*

24. **hoc**: explained by the clause *quod habebat.*

auctoritatis: *influence.*

25. **apex**: *the crowning glory; apex* primarily designated the pointed piece of wood inserted in the top of the cap worn by the flamens.

26. **fuit**: sc. *auctoritas.*

L. Caecilio Metello: see note on p. 13, l. 14.

27. **A. Atilio Calatino**: Calatinus was twice consul (258 and 254 B.C.) and once dictator (249 B.C.) in the First Punic War.

illud: *the following.*

elogium: *epitaph.* The word is derived from the Greek ἐλεγεῖον, 'epitaph,' 'sepulchral inscription.' English *eulogy* is not related.

28. **Hunc unum**: *this man above all others.*

gentes: used in the technical sense.

29. **populi**: with *virum.*

30. **carmen**: *i.e.* the entire epitaph, of which Cato cites only two lines.

incisum: explanatory of *notum est;* the epitaph is familiar because engraved upon his tomb.

in sepulcro: Calatinus was buried on the Appian Way, near the tombs of the Scipios.

31. **gravis, cuius esset**, etc.; *a man of weight, since all were unanimous in his praise; fama omnium* is literally the 'report of all,' *i.e.* the reputation which all men gave him. The clause *cuius esset* is one of Characteristic, with the accessory notion of cause; the clause, however, does not give the reason for Calatinus's influence, but simply a reason why we may infer that he was influential.

27. 1. **Quem virum nuper**, etc.: *what a man we saw recently in Publius Crassus!* lit. *what a man we saw Publius Crassus! video* here takes two accusatives, direct object and predicate accusative, like verbs of *calling, regarding*, etc. On Crassus, see note on p. 12, l. 20.

2. **Lepidum**: pontifex maximus 180 B.C. He twice led the Roman armies against the Ligurians, and was long *princeps senatus* ('leader of the house').

3. **Paulo**: see note on p. 13, l. 4.

4. **Maximo**: see p. 5, l. 8 ff.

quorum non in sententia solum: *not merely in whose opinion; sententia* probably alludes to the formal expression of opinion

when a vote was taken in the Senate. Each senator, as called upon, rose and explained his vote.

6. **honorata**: *i.e.* the old age of a man who had held offices (*honores*).

7. **pluris**: *of more account.*

9. **in omni oratione**: *in everything I say.*

11. **constituta sit**: *i.e. has been firmly established.*

Ex quo efficitur: *and so it comes about.*

id quod . . . dixi: *a thing which I once remarked.*

12. **assensu omnium**: *i.e.* on the part of all.

miseram esse, etc.: logically this clause is the subject of *efficitur*, and would normally have been expressed by *ut misera sit senectus quae se defendat*, — *and so it comes about* (*as I once remarked*) *that that old age is wretched which has to defend itself by apologies.* But the proximity of *dixi* has evidently caused the writer to forget the structure of the sentence as begun with *efficitur*, and to make the clause which should have depended upon *efficitur* depend upon *dixi* instead. This has also involved the change of *defendat* to *defenderet*, according to the "sequence of tenses."

13. **Non cani nec rugae**, etc.: *non* is emphatic, — *not gray hair nor wrinkles can suddenly lay hold on influence;* with *cani* understand *capilli;* this omission is elsewhere confined to poetry.

15. **fructus capit auctoritatis extremos**: *reaps influence as its final product; auctoritatis* is Appositional Genitive, — *the product, influence* (A. & G. 214, *f*; B. 202; G. 361, 1; H. 396, VI.); *extremos* is made emphatic by its position at the end of the sentence.

16. **haec**: explained by the following infinitives.

honorabilia: *i.e.* tokens of honor; *honorabilis* occurs only here in good Latinity.

17. **salutari**: the reference is probably to the morning visit or *salutatio*, which the friends of a prominent man were wont to pay.

appeti: *to be sought out.*

18. **decedi, assurgi**: these two infinitives, being intransitive, are used impersonally, — *to have people make way for one, rise in one's presence,* lit. (*for*) *it to be withdrawn, to be risen.*

deduci, reduci, consuli: a return to the personal construction; *deduco* is the technical term for a formal escort of a man

from his house to the Forum, *reduco* of the escort back to his house; *consuli* means merely to have one's opinion asked on any matter of importance.

19. **ut quaeque optime morata est**: *according as each is most highly civilized*, lit. *best mannered.*

22. **honestissimum**: *most honorable.*

23. **nusquam enim**, etc.: *for nowhere is so much regard paid to age;* we should have expected this to be expressed as Lysander's thought, and accordingly to be in the infinitive dependent upon *dicere* above, but Cato gives it as his own justification of Lysander's statement.

24. **quin etiam**: *why actually.*

memoriae proditum est: *the story goes*, lit. *it has been handed down to memory.*

25. **ludis**: Ablative of Time. The reference is probably to the festival of the great Dionysia, which occurred annually in March, and was celebrated with dramatic performances.

26. **magno consessu**: Ablative Absolute with adversative force, — *although the throng was great*, implying that among so many some one might have been expected to offer the old man a seat.

28. **qui consederant**: an explanatory clause of the writer, and hence in the indicative.

certo in loco: special seats in the orchestra were reserved for ambassadors and other distinguished guests.

29. **omnes illi**: *they all.*

30. **sessum**: *to a seat*, lit. *to sit down;* supine of *sedeo*, used to express purpose after the idea of motion involved in *recepisse.*

31. **dixisse**: dependent upon *proditum est* above.

32. **facere nolle**: not so much *were unwilling to do it*, as *lacked the disposition to do it.*

28. 1. **vestro collegio**: sc. *augurum.*

3. **sententiae principatum tenet**: *enjoys precedence in giving his opinion; i.e.* in voting the augurs gave their opinions in the order of age.

honore antecedentibus: including all official positions, political or sacerdotal.

4. **cum imperio**: see note on p. 16, l. 12.

7. **quibus qui**, etc.: *those who have made a fine use of these*, viz. of the *praemiis auctoritatis*.

8. **fabulam aetatis**: *the drama of life*, a common figure in all languages.

peregisse: *to have acted through to the end.*

tamquam inexercitati histriones: *like untrained players.*

9. **corruisse**: *to have broken down.*

10. **At sunt**: *at* as p. 9, l. 24, and frequently.

morosi: *capricious;* by derivation *morosus* means *full of special habits* (*mores*), hence *crotchety, capricious.*

11. **morum**: *of the character.*

13. **non illius quidem**: *not, to be sure, a just one;* when an object has two attributes connected and contrasted by *quidem* . . . *sed*, the demonstrative pronoun (or personal pronoun) is usually present with the former attribute.

14. **sed quae videatur**: *but such as seems capable of being approved;* this is a Clause of Characteristic, and constitutes the second of the two attributes limiting *excusationis.*

contemni, despici, illudi: these words form a climax,— *ignored, despised, made sport of.*

16. **omnis offensio**: *every slight; offensio* is here used passively, *i.e. a being offended.*

17. **dulciora**: *i.e.* less annoying.

bonis: modifying both *moribus* and *artibus.*

19. **qui in Adelphis sunt**: who appear in the *Adelphi*, an extant comedy of Terence (about 185–159 B.C.).

20. **Sic se res habet**: *so it is* (*actually*); *sic* is best taken as referring back to the mellowing effects of good character and good breeding.

21. **Severitatem**: *strictness* merely, a common meaning of the word.

23. **Avaritia vero**: *but what sense avarice can have in an old man, I do not understand; avaritia* is emphatic by position, but it is difficult to bring this out in English translation, except by vocal stress.

25. **quo viae minus**, etc.: *i.e.* to seek more funds in proportion as the remainder of the journey diminishes; *quo* and *eo* are Ablatives of Degree of Difference.

CHAPTERS XIX.-XXIII.

The fourth charge: Old age is not far from death. But death is no evil. After death must come either immortality or annihilation. Death too may come at any time of life; the young are not exempt, as we have often learned by sad experience. The old man is superior, in fact, to the young man; the one has realized what the other can only hope for. "Act well thy part; there all the honor lies." Examples of Romans who have set death at naught. Plato's arguments for the immortality of the soul. Cyrus's views. Paulus, Africanus, and others showed by their deeds their faith in immortality. Contemplation of the serene happiness of the future life.

28. **sollicitam habere**: *to keep in a state of unrest.*

30. **esse longe**: we should have expected *abesse* here instead of *esse*.

31. **contemnendam**: *i.e.* to be regarded with indifference; cf. note on p. 6, l. 12.

29. 1. **etiam (optanda)**: *even.*

aliquo: the adverb.

2. **sit futurus**: *is destined to be.*

tertium nihil: *no third alternative.*

3. **non miser**: *non* is to be combined closely with *miser*.

4. **beatus etiam**: *happy even; etiam* receives additional emphasis by being placed after the word which it limits.

Quamquam: corrective.

5. **quamvis sit adulescens**: *however young he be.*

cui sit exploratum: the expression is inexact. Cicero does not mean: *Who is so foolish as to have discovered?* but *Who is so foolish as to think he has discovered?*

6. **Quin etiam**: as p. 27, l. 24.

7. **aetas illa**: *i.e.* persons of that time of life.

casus mortis: *i.e.* the active life of young men makes them more liable to accidents.

9. **tristius curantur**: *they are treated by the application of severer remedies;* the frailer health of the aged calls for less heroic treatment.

10. **ni**: in classical prose *ni* is found almost exclusively in legal formulas and colloquial phrases.

melius et prudentius viveretur: *life would be better and wiser*, lit. *it would be lived*, etc.

11. **Mens, ratio, consilium**: *ratio* ('reason') and *consilium* ('deliberation') are special functions of *mens* ('intellect').

12. **qui si nulli fuissent**: *and if there had never been any*, sc. *senes*.

13. **ad mortem impendentem**: *to death as (something) imminent.*

14. **Quod est istud**, etc.: *how is that a charge against old age? i.e.* how does it constitute a valid charge? *Quod* as interrogative adjective means 'what kind of?' Hence here *quod crimen*, 'what kind of a charge,' in the sense *how does it constitute a charge? istud* refers to the general idea of death impending, and is the subject of *est?*

id: *i.e.* the fact that death is imminent.

ei: viz. *senectuti.*

15. **cum adulescentia**: cf. *commune tecum*, p. 1, l. 16.

Sensi, etc.: *sensi* is emphatic, — *we have had experience, I in the case of my most excellent son, you in the case of your brothers; sensi* is singular because agreeing with the nearer subject, *ego.*

in optimo filio: Cato's son died in 152 B.C. while praetor-elect.

16. **exspectatis . . . fratribus**: a peculiar expression for: *brothers who were expected to arrive at the highest honor.* Cato refers to the two sons of Lucius Aemilius Paulus, one of whom, aged 12, died five days before his father's triumph, the other, aged 14, three days after the triumph.

18. **quod idem**, etc.: *which the old cannot likewise hope*, lit. *which same thing*, etc.

19. **Insipienter sperat**: *i.e.* he is foolish to cherish such a hope; *insipienter* is emphatic.

20. **incerta pro certis habere**: *to regard as certain what is uncertain.*

21. **At senex**, etc.: *but, it is alleged, the old man has not even anything to hope for;* the clause *quod speret* is one of purpose.

22. **At est**: *at* here introduces Cato's own reply to the argument of his imaginary opponent.

23. **ille, hic**: *ille* refers to the youth, *hic* to the old man, as the one really nearer in thought, though not last mentioned in the preceding context.

26. **Tartessiorum**: the Tartessians dwelt in southern Spain.

27. **ut scriptum video**: viz. in Herodotus, I, 163.

Gadibus: the modern Cadiz.

28. **centum viginti**: there are other indications in Latin literature that one hundred and twenty years was regarded by the Romans as the ultimate limit to which the life of man might extend.

29. **sed mihi**, etc.: there is a slight anacoluthon here; we should have expected this clause to be introduced by *tamen*, since *da* and *exspectemus* have the force of 'though you grant,' 'though we look forward to.'

30. **in quo est**: we might have expected the Subjunctive of Characteristic here; but the indicative is regularly used in any characterizing clause that has the force of a condition; thus here *in quo est*, etc. = *if there is something final in it.*

31. **quod praeteriit, effluxit**: *what has passed has vanished;* cf. p. 3, l. 8.

tantum remanet: *there remains only so much.*

32. **consecutus sis**: the indefinite 2d singular; hence the subjunctive.

80. 1. **horae et dies et menses et anni**: note the rhetorical force of the polysyndeton. B. 341, 4, *b*; H. 636, III. 1. The asyndetic form of expression is, however, much more usual.

2. **quid sequatur**: *i.e. what the future will be;* the clause is the logical subject of *sciri potest.*

4. **Neque enim**: *for neither; neque* is correlative with *neque* in l. 6.

5. **histrioni . . . peragenda fabula est**: *i.e.* the actor, in order to please his audience, does not need to act through the piece, — does not need to appear in every act.

modo probetur: *provided only he meet approval.*

in quocumque fuerit: the subjunctive is purely the result of attraction.

6. **neque sapienti usque ad Plaudite veniendum est**: *nor does a wise man need to come to the very 'Plaudite' (of life).*

Plaudite was the regular appeal made by one of the troupe at the close of the play; hence, in a transferred sense, it means 'the end,' 'conclusion.'

9. **processerit**: as subject supply in sense *quis*, 'one.'

10. **verni temporis suavitate**: *the pleasant spring-time.*

11. **tamquam**: *tamquam* qualifies the entire phrase *adulescentiam significat*, — *typifies youth, as it were.*

12. **ostenditque fructus futuros**: *i.e.* gives promise of the fruits that are to come.

13. **tempora**: *seasons.*

demetendis et percipiendis: *reaping and gathering;* another illustration of Cicero's fondness for grouping synonyms in pairs. Cf. p. 15, l. 5, *officia et munera; percipio* is here used in the same sense as p. 10, l. 30.

15. **ante partorum bonorum**: *of blessings previously acquired.*

17. **sunt habenda**: *are to be reckoned.*

18. **quod idem**: *which likewise.*

19. **adversante et repugnante natura**: the Ablative Absolute here has adversative force, — *though nature resists and rebels.*

21. **ut cum**: *as when.*

flammae vis: *a vigorous flame.*

22. **nulla adhibita vi**: *without the application of any force.*

23. **consumptus ignis exstinguitur**: *a fire is extinguished as a result of burning out; consumptus* takes the chief stress in this sentence, and is used in a middle sense, — *having burnt itself out.*

quasi: here equivalent to *sicut;* this use is archaic.

24. **si matura**: we should have expected *sin* instead of *si* to introduce this second protasis. B. 306, 3; G. 592.

25. **sic . . . vis aufert**: the emphasis rests upon *vis*, — *so 'tis force that takes life from the young; adulescentibus* is dative. A. & G. 229; B. 188, 2, *d*; H. 385, II. 2.

26. **quae quidem**, etc.: grammatically *quae* can refer only to *maturitas*, but such is not Cicero's meaning; the logical antecedent is the substance of the whole preceding sentence; hence, *this thought is so pleasant to me.*

27. **quo propius accedam**: Subjunctive by Attraction; we should have expected this clause to be followed by one containing a comparative with *eo*, corresponding to *quo propius.*

31. **recte vivitur**: *i.e.* one is justified in remaining alive.

quoad possis: *as long as one can;* the indefinite 2d singular leads to the use of the subjunctive. See note on *cum vixeris*, p. 5, l. 2.

munus offici exsequi et tueri: *to discharge and attend to the performance of one's duty.*

31. 2. **hoc illud est**, etc.: *this is the significance of the famous reply of Solon.*

Pisistrato: tyrant of Athens in the sixth century B.C. Plutarch, in his life of Solon, chap. 31, says this reply was made to inquiring friends; yet he elsewhere confirms the account here given.

3. **illi**: *i.e.* Pisistratus.

qua tandem: *tandem* emphasizes the interrogative, — *what pray!*

4. **audaciter**: archaic for *audacter.*

obsisteret: Solon's opposition was directed against Pisistratus's usurpation in 560 B.C.

5. '**Senectute**': sc. *fretus;* Solon was seventy-five years old at this time.

integra mente certisque sensibus: *with the mind sound and the faculties unimpaired.*

7. **coagmentavit**: *put together.*

dissolvit: *takes apart.*

10. **Iam**: *now*, continuing the argument; so below, l. 22.

omnis conglutinatio recens: lit. *every construction when fresh*, *i.e.* everything newly made.

inveterata: *if of long standing.*

11. **illud breve vitae reliquum**: *reliquum* is here a substantive, — an infrequent use of the word.

12. **nec sine causa deserendum sit**: *i.e.* suicide must not be resorted to except in a special exigency.

13. **vetatque**: *-que* is here 'epexegetic,' *i.e.* explanatory of what has just preceded, — *and so*, *and accordingly.*

14. **praesidio et statione**: *post and station.*

15. **elogium**: here in the sense of 'couplet.' The Greek lines are:

Μηδέ μοι ἄκλαυστος θάνατος μόλοι, ἀλλὰ φίλοισι
Καλλείποιμι θανὼν ἄλγεα καὶ στοναχάς.

se negat velle: *says he does not wish.*

16. **suam mortem**: *suam* is emphatic; these lines of Solon were directed against Mimnermus, a contemporary elegiac poet, who had given expression to a contrary sentiment.

17. **Vult, credo, se esse carum**: the construction of infinitive with subject accusative after *volo*, *nolo*, *malo*, is less usual, if the subjects of the main and dependent verbs are the same; but it is permissible in case of *esse* and passive infinitives. B. 331, iv. *a.* Cf. p. 14, l. 12, *me senem esse mallem.*

haud scio an melius Ennius: *I am inclined to think Ennius utters a better sentiment;* with *melius* understand some such verb as *dicat;* cf. p. 11, l. 9, *melius;* l. 16, *vitiosius.* On *haud scio an,* cf. note on p. 24, l. 29, *haud scio an nulla beatior possit.*

19. **Nemo me dacrumis decoret**, etc.: *dacruma* is an archaic form of *lacruma.* Notice the alliteration in *dacrumis decoret*, and in *funera fletu faxit; fletu* is Ablative of Attendant Circumstance. B. 221. *faxit* is an archaic form of *fecerit* (perfect subjunctive); as subject supply in sense *quisquam* from *nemo.* The second line is given in full by Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, I, 34:

> Faxit. Cur? Volito vivos per ora virum.
> '*Why? I still live and flit about in the mouths of men.*'

22. **Iam**: as above in l. 10.

23. **isque**: *-que* is here adversative.

ad exiguum tempus: *i.e.* only for a short time.

24. **aut nullus est**: *nullus* here has the force of an emphatic *non; est* is almost equivalent to *adest;* hence *is not present.*

25. **hoc meditatum ab adulescentia debet esse**: *this* (*lesson*) *ought to be rehearsed by us from youth up; meditor* is to go over a thing again and again by way of preparation, as a lesson or a speech; *hoc* is explained by the following *ut mortem neglegamus*, *i.e.* the lesson is: 'disregard of death.' Notice the passive use of the participle of *meditor*, like *adeptam*, p. 3, l. 1; *dimensa*, p. 26, l. 7. The tense of *meditatum esse* is also peculiar; we should have expected the present, but with *debeo* and *oportet* the perfect infinitive occasionally appears used for the present. A. & G. 288, *d;* B. 270, 2, *a.*

26. **sine qua meditatione**: *a practice without which.*

27. **Moriendum enim certe est**: *moriendum* takes the emphasis, —*for die we surely must.*

et incertum an: *and possibly*, lit. *and it* (*is*) *uncertain* (*whether at some other time*) *or.*

28. **Mortem . . . impendentem**: as the position shows, this phrase takes the chief emphasis of the sentence, —*with death imminent at all hours, how can one who fears it be of a tranquil heart? qui* is the interrogative adverb; as subject of *poterit* an indefinite *quis* must be supplied in thought; *consistere* literally means 'to stand firm,' and so, 'to be tranquil.'

30. **non ita longa**: *i.e.* not very long.

cum recorder: *when I recall;* the clause, however, is strongly causal; hence the subjunctive.

31. **L. Brutum**: this and the following accusatives *Decios*, *Atilium*, are to be taken as the subjects of some verb to be supplied from *profectas* (*esse*) in l. 10 of the following page.

in liberanda patria: the Tarquins, after their expulsion, endeavored to regain the throne; Brutus, while resisting their attempts, was killed in single combat with Arruns Tarquinius.

32. 1. **duos Decios**: see note on p. 19, l. 6.

2. **M. Atilium**: Marcus Atilius Regulus, the famous general of the First Punic War. The story of his return to Carthage to keep his plighted faith is probably apocryphal.

4. **duos Scipiones**: see p. 13, l. 3.

5. **Poenis**: dative of reference, —lit. *to obstruct the way to the Carthaginians.*

vel: intensive.

6. **avum tuum**: this is addressed to Scipio. His grandfather by blood, L. Aemilius Paulus (father of Macedonicus, conqueror of Perseus), had commanded at the disaster of Cannae, 216 B.C.

collegae: C. Terentius Varro.

7. **M. Marcellum**: M. Claudius Marcellus, an eminent general of the Second Punic War. He was lured into ambush and slain by the troops of Hannibal in 208 B.C.

8. **interitum**: *i.e.* his dead body.

crudelissimus hostis: Hannibal's conduct never justified this epithet. He was characterized rather by generosity and even chivalry.

10. **in Originibus**: see note on p. 16, l. 21.

13. **indocti**: referring particularly to lack of training in philosophy.

rustici: *i.e.* not merely devoid of the higher culture, but lacking all training whatsoever. The Roman army was recruited chiefly from the country districts.

14. **Omnino**: *all in all.*

16. **studia certa**: *definite interests, pursuits.*

18. **constans iam aetas**: like *iam constantis aetatis*, p. 14, l. 28; in the present passage note that *iam*, at variance with the usual practice, follows the word it modifies.

19. **ne ea quidem**: *i.e.* old age does not pine even for the occupations of middle life, much less, then, for those of youth and boyhood.

21. **ergo**: purely transitional.

23. **maturum**: best taken as a predicate modifier of *tempus*, lit. *brings the time of death ripe*, *i.e.* makes the time ripe for death.

24. **cur non audeam**: *why I should not venture;* the indirect question here represents a Deliberative Subjunctive of direct discourse.

25. **quod**: relative, referring to *quid ipse sentiam.*

26. **eo melius quo ab ea propius absum**: *the better, the nearer I am to it;* nearness *from* a thing is a favorite mental attitude with Latin writers.

cernere: *discern;* used of clear vision.

27. **tuumque, Laeli**: Laelius's father also bore the name C. Laelius; he was an intimate friend of the elder Africanus.

31. **munere quodam necessitatis**: *i.e.* a function imposed by necessity.

32. **est animus caelestis**, etc.: *the soul is from heaven; animus* is further modified by the participle *depressus*, 'lowered.'

33. 1. **quasi demersus**: *quasi* apologizes for the figure; *demergo* ordinarily applies to what is sunk in water.

4. **qui terras tuerentur**: *to care for, protect, the earth*, lit. *lands.* Cf. Cic. de Republica, VI, 15, 15, *homines hac lege sunt generati, qui tuerentur illum globum quem in hoc templo medium vides, quae terra vocatur.*

caelestium: = *caelestium rerum; of celestial things;* on the

rare substantive use of neuter adjectives outside of the nominative and accusative, cf. note on p. 2, l. 8.

6. **ratio, disputatio**: *reflection*, *discussion*.

7. **nobilitas**: *reputation*.

8. **Pythagoram**: see note on p. 10, l. 21.

9. **incolas paene nostros**: the seat of the Pythagorean school was Crotona in southern Italy.

qui essent nominati: this clause seems to be introduced merely as an explanation of the speaker, and as such would naturally have stood in the indicative. The subjunctive indicates that it is here felt to be a part of the indirect discourse.

11. **ex universa mente divina**: *i.e.* from the world-soul.

delibatos: *i.e.* souls which are emanations of the world-soul; *delibo* literally means *to take a taste* or *a sip* of something; then figuratively *to draw*, *pluck*, *gather*.

12. **haberemus**: in English we should use the present; but in Latin even subordinate clauses expressing general truths conform to the sequence of tenses.

quae . . . disseruisset: implied indirect discourse, — *the views which Socrates was said to have set forth*. A. & G. 341; B. 323.

13. **immortalitate animorum**: note the plural in *animorum*.

14. **esset iudicatus**: Subjunctive by Attraction; the clause is an integral part of the clause on which it depends. A. & G. 342; B. 324, 1; G. 508, 4; H. 529, II. 1).

15. **Quid multa**: sc. *dicam*. Cf. *quid opus est plura*, p. 2, l. 19.

sic persuasi mihi, sic sentio: *sic* is explained by what follows. The arguments for the soul's immortality are four in number:

(1) Its capacity (*cum tanta celeritas*, etc.).
(2) Its original activity (*cumque agitetur*, etc.).
(3) Its indivisibility (*cum simplex animi esset natura*, etc.).
(4) Its preëxistence (*scire pleraque ante quam*, etc.).

16. **celeritas**: *i.e.* the rapidity of thought.

17. **memoria praeteritorum futurorumque prudentia**: note the chiastic arrangement. On the substantive use of *praeteritorum* and *futurorum*, see note on *caelestium* in line 4. Observe that *prudentia* here has its primitive meaning of 'foresight.'

18. **tot artes**: such as *rhetoric*, *music*, *geometry*, *astronomy*, etc.; each of these was an *ars*, — *ars rhetorica*, *ars musica*, etc.

tantae scientiae: *so many branches of knowledge;* the plural of *scientia* is extremely rare, but its occurrence is justified by the neighboring plurals, *tot artes*, *tot inventa.*

20. **semper agitetur**: *is always active; agitetur* has here a reflexive or middle sense,—lit. *moves itself;* cf. *erecta*, p. 22, l. 25.

21. **quia se ipse moveat**: this is said in justification of the previous statement *nec principium motus habeat*, and does not refer at all to *agitetur.*

ne finem quidem, etc.: *no end of motion either.*

22. **numquam sit relicturus**: almost equivalent to 'can never leave.'

23. **cum simplex animi esset**: the previous dependent clauses (beginning with l. 16); *cum sit*, *quae contineat*, *cumque agitetur*, *quia moveat*, *quia sit relicturus*, have all depended upon *persuasi* taken as a principal tense, but with line 23 *persuasi* comes to be felt as historical; hence the secondary sequence in *esset*, *haberet*, *posse*, followed, however, by a return to primary sequence in *nati sint*, *discant*, etc. In English we should render the imperfects of this passage by presents.

simplex: *i.e.* as opposed to composite.

24. **dispar atque dissimile**: for the combination of synonyms, see note on p. 15, l. 5.

25. **quod si non posset**: *and if it* (the soul) *cannot*, *i.e.* cannot be divided; with *posset* supply *dividi* from the preceding *dividi posset.*

non posse interire: sc. *animum.*

26. **magnoque esse argumento**: *and* (*I am convinced*, —*persuasi mihi*) *that it is* (*for*) *a great argument*, viz. in favor of the immortality of the soul; the subject of *esse* is *homines scire*, etc.; *i.e.* knowledge anterior to birth is a great argument.

27. **quod pueri iam discant**: this gives the reason, not for men's foreknowledge, but for our feeling assured of such foreknowledge. The force of the clause may best be seen in the following free paraphrase of the whole passage, beginning with *magnoque argumento:* 'and I am convinced that a strong argument in favor of immortality is furnished by the fact that men know many things before they are born,—and that they do is clear, because children, when they are learning difficult subjects, lay hold of innumerable

things so rapidly that they seem not to be learning them then for the first time, but to be remembering and recalling them.'

30. **haec Platonis fere**: *these are substantially* (*the arguments*) *of Plato;* they are taken chiefly from Plato's Phaedo and Phaedrus.

31. **autem**: *again;* used to introduce other arguments in support of the soul's immortality.

32. **Cyrus maior**: Cyrus the Elder; see note on p. 13, l. 11.

haec dicit: the passage is in the Cyropaedia, VIII, 7, 17. Though attributed to Cyrus, these views are really Xenophon's, and were gathered by him from the teachings of Socrates, like those of Plato above enumerated.

84. 2. **nullum**: *non-existent;* cf. *nullus*, p. 31, l. 24.

4. **Eundem esse**: *that it still exists.*

5. **creditote**: for the use of the future tense here, cf. *attribuito*, p. 2, l. 17.

nullum: here equivalent to *non*.

Nec clarorum virorum post mortem honores permanerent: *i.e.* the souls of great men after death consciously endeavor to keep alive their fame among posterity; only so, it is urged, can we account for the perpetuation of their glory.

7. **quo teneremus**: we should have expected *ut teneremus*, *ut* being the regular particle to introduce a substantive clause after *efficio; quo*, however, occurs occasionally for *ut* when the substantive clause contains a comparative, as here. Cf. Pliny, Epistles, VI, 19, *quo sint plura venalia efficiunt.* The usage is doubtless influenced by the employment of *quo* for *ut* in clauses of pure purpose which contain a comparative.

8. **Mihi quidem numquam persuaderi potuit**: *I at least could never be convinced*, lit. *it could never be convinced to me.*

9. **dum essent, cum excessissent, cum evasisset, cum coepisset**: in Latin all these clauses, following the principle for the 'sequence of tenses,' stand in the imperfect and pluperfect, since *vivere*, taking its time from *potuit*, is historical; in English we should use the present and perfect, viz. *while they are*, *when they have departed*, *when it has gone out*, *when it has begun.* Similarly we should render *vivere*, *emori*, etc., by the present, — *live*, *die*, etc. Note the adversative asyndeton in *vivere*, *emori*, — *live while they are in the body*, *but die when they have departed.*

10. **insipientem**: *without consciousness.*

13. **tum esse sapientem**: *is then really conscious; esse* depends upon *mihi persuasum est* to be supplied in thought from *mihi numquam persuaderi potuit.*

14. **ceterarum rerum**: dependent upon *quaeque; ceterarum* means 'the rest' as opposed to *animus;* for this proleptic use of *ceteri*, cf. *ceteris*, p. 2, l. 8.

18. **Atqui**: *now.*

22. **colitote**: *venerate.*

24. **hanc omnem pulchritudinem**: *i.e.* all this beautiful universe.

26. **servabitis**: the future indicative, as often, has here the force of an imperative.

27. **nostra**: *i.e.* views of our own countrymen as opposed to those of a foreigner like Cyrus.

31. **multos**: here as elsewhere for *multos alios.*

32. **tanta esse conatos**: *would have attempted so great enterprises;* we should have expected *conaturos fuisse*, since the infinitive represents the apodosis of a condition contrary-to-fact in indir. disc. A. & G. 337, *b*, 2; B. 321, 2, *a*; G. 597, R. 4; H. 527, III.

quae . . . pertinerent: the clause expresses purpose, — *to have to do with the memory of posterity*, *i.e.* deeds which they intended should have to do with posterity.

35. 1. **nisi cernerent**: *had they not discerned;* in conditions contrary-to-fact, the imperfect subjunctive is used in preference to the pluperfect, to denote a *continued* action belonging to past time. A. & G. 308, *a*; B. 304, 2; G. 597, R. 1; H. 510, N. 2. The same thought occurs also in Cicero's oration for Archias, § 28 f.

2. **An censes**: *you don't think*, *do you.* When by the ellipsis of the first member of a double question *an* stands alone, its force must be determined from the context; here *an* = *num;* p. 7, l. 28, it was equivalent to *nonne.* B. 162, 4, *a.*

ut aliquid glorier: *to boast a bit;* cf. *idem gloriari*, p. 14, l. 1.

4. **si essem terminaturus**: Cato really means *si credidissem me terminaturum esse.*

6. **otiosam**: see note on *otiosa*, p. 21, l. 18.

8. **nescio quo modo**: *somehow.*

9. **ita**: correlative with the following *quasi*, as p. 6, l. 18.

cum excessisset: the subjunctive is purely the result of attraction.

10. **victurus esset**: *i.e.* truly live. Cf. p. 32, 28.

quod ni ita se haberet: *unless it were so; quod* is further explained by the appositional clause *ut . . . essent;* on *ni* see note on p. 29, l. 10.

11. **ut animi immortales essent**: *that souls are immortal;* for the imperfect, see note on p. 18, l. 13, *possemus.*

12. **haud niteretur** and **haud retraxerint** (line 22, below): in his orations, Cicero confines the use of *haud* to adjectives, adverbs, and the verb *scio;* in the philosophical writings it occurs with other verbs, as here.

optimi cuiusque animus: *the souls of all the best men*, lit. *the soul of each best man.*

maxime niteretur: *i.e.* strive in proportion to their strength of character, hence the best men the most earnestly.

immortalitatem et gloriam: hendiadys.

13. **Quid, quod**: *what of the fact that?*

15. **iniquissimo**: sc. *animo; with the greatest reluctance.*

qui plus cernat et longius: *which sees deeper and farther;* for the force of *plus*, cf. note on p. 5, l. 26.

17. **ille autem**: *i.e. ille animus.*

non videre: *to fail to see.*

18. **efferor**: *I am carried away.*

19. **aveo**: used of intense and eager longing; cf. *avidus.*

20. **cognovi**: *I have known.*

21. **quo quidem**, etc.: *and when I set out for them; quo* here = *ad quos*, just as *unde* often = *a quibus, a quo.*

22. **retraxerit, recoxerit**: Potential Subjunctive, but differing only slightly in force from a future indicative.

tamquam Peliam recoxerit: *boil me back to life again like Pelias.* Cicero seems to have confounded Pelias with Aeson; it was the latter whom Medea restored to life by boiling.

23. **ex hac aetate**: *at* (lit. *from*) *my present time of life.*

24. **repuerascam**: only here apparently in this sense; the clause *ut repuerascam* is the object of *largiatur.*

25. **quasi decurso spatio ad carceres a calce revocari**:

quasi modifies the entire expression, — *after finishing the course to be recalled from the goal to the starting-point, so to speak.* The comparison is borrowed from the race-course; *carceres* were the stalls at the end of the course, from which the chariots started; the *calx* (lit. *lime*) was a chalk-line marking the limit of the race.

quid laboris: sc. *habet.*

27. **Sed habeat sane**: *but grant that it really has* (*advantages*); *habeat* is a Jussive Subjunctive with concessive force. A. & G. 266, *c*; B. 278; G. 264; H. 484, III.

29. **et ei docti**: *and those, too, philosophers.*

36. 1. **Commorandi, non habitandi**: *for tarrying at, not for dwelling in;* a peculiar use of the genitive of the gerund to denote purpose.

6. **ad Catonem meum**: *i.e.* his son, mentioned p. 8, l. 1.

nemo vir: a stronger *nemo;* sometimes we find *nemo homo.*

8. **quod contra**, etc.: *whereas on the contrary mine ought to have been burned by him; quod* is governed by *contra*, lit. *opposite to which;* on the anastrophe of the preposition see A. & G. 263, N.; B. 144, 3; H. 569, II. 1. See Critical Appendix.

9. **meum**: *i.e. meum corpus cremari.*

animus: *i.e.* the soul of his son.

10. **quo**: = *ad quae*, as above, p. 35, l. 21.

mihi ipsi esse veniendum: *that I myself must come.*

12. **non quo aequo animo ferrem**: *not that I bore it with resignation.* A. & G. 321, R.; B. 286, 1, *b*; G. 541, N. 2; H. 516, 2.

14. **digressum et discessum**: *parting and separation;* the synonyms as p. 15, l. 5.

His rebus: emphatic by position, — *these are the things whereby old age is easy to me.*

15. **id**: *emphatic, — for 'twas that you said you wondered at; id* anticipates *levis est senectus.*

17. **in hoc**: explained by the following *qui*-clause, — *in this,* viz. *that I believe the souls of men to be immortal.*

18. **mihi**: Dative of Separation.

20. **mortuus**: *when dead.*

ut censent: modifying *nihil sentiam.*

quidam minuti philosophi: *certain petty philosophers;* the

reference is to the Epicureans, who denied the immortality of the soul.

nihil sentiam: *i.e. have no consciousness.*

21. **philosophi mortui irrideant**: they will be unable to scoff if death brings annihilation, for they too will be annihilated.

25. **peractio tamquam fabulae**: *the last act of a play, so to speak; peractio* is found only here.

28. **Haec habui quae dicerem**: *this was what I had to say on old age; haec* is emphatic; *quae dicerem* is a clause of purpose.

29. **re experti**: *by actual experience*, lit. *experiencing it in fact; re* is opposed to *quae audivistis.*

CRITICAL APPENDIX

The best critical edition of the de Senectute is that by C. F. W. Müller in the Teubner edition of Cicero's Works. Leipsic, 1879. Müller's edition was based upon the following Mss.:

Leidensis (L), at Leyden.
Parisinus (P), at Paris.
3 Monacenses (BIS), at Munich.
Erfurtensis (E), at Erfurt.
Bernensis (N), at Berne.
2 Rhenaugienses (RQ), at Rheinau.

Since the publication of Müller's edition the following new manuscript material has become available:

2 Leidenses (V, v).
Ashburnhamensis (Ashb).
Harleianus 2682 (H).
Bruxellensis (Br), along with some others of less importance.

Dahl has also published a new recension of P and some of the inferior Paris Mss.

L and P are traditionally regarded as the best Mss., so much so that their agreement has been thought to indicate the true reading with great certainty. But they repeatedly agree in readings demonstrably false, and the whole subject of the relative importance of PL as compared with other Mss., as well as of the relation of the Mss. to each other, is one that still awaits satisfactory settlement.

1. 1. **te**:[1] *te* is supported by scant Ms. authority, most Mss. reading *ego*. Reid thinks Cicero wrote *ego* and that *te* crept into

[1] This appendix is devoted chiefly to a discussion of the passages (some fifty in number) where I have deviated from the text of Müller; also to a consideration of passages whose interpretation is disputed.

the few Mss. having that reading from the *te* of line 2, immediately below. But *ego*, if read here, would necessarily be emphatic, and an emphatic *ego* is distinctly out of place in this passage. I have consequently preferred *te*, at variance with nearly all recent editors. It is not impossible that *quid te* became *quit te*, and this again, by haplography, *quit e*, which was interpreted as *quit* (*i.e. quid*) *ego;* or *ego* may have been the arbitrary alteration of some copyist who failed to see the construction of *te*.

17. **me ipsum**: *me etiam ipsum* is the reading of L and is adopted by Sommerbrodt, Müller, and most subsequent editors; but the locution *et . . . et etiam* is an extremely unusual one. Merguet, in his Lexikon zu den Phil. Schriften des Cicero, I, p. 860 *b*, cites three instances, but none of them is at all parallel to the present passage. The two instances of *et . . . et etiam* occurring in the Speeches, pro Plancio, 91, and pro Murena, 45, are also quite different.

2. 6. **laudari satis digne**: the reading of most Mss.; LE have *digne satis laudari*, a reading adopted by Sommerbrodt and Müller. But in Cicero's Speeches and Philosophical Works, according to Merguet's Lexika, no instance occurs where *satis* is postponed after adjectives or adverbs. Verr. I, 82 we find *satis digne persequi;* post red. in Sen. 19 *satis digne loquetur.*

11. **Ceus**: this was the Ciceronian orthography. *Cius* belongs to the time of the Empire. See Georges Lexikon der lat. Wortformen, s.v. Similarly Cicero wrote *Antiochēa*, *Alexandrēa*.

31. **potest malum videri**: this is the reading of most Mss.; L has *malum potest videri*, followed by Müller. But this violates Cicero's diction: with *potest videri* a predicate adjective always stands immediately before *videri*.

3. 1. **adeptam**: the Mss. vary between *adepti* and *adeptam*. I have adopted *adeptam* as the *difficilior lectio*.

9. **nulla consolatione**: most Mss. read *consolatio;* but *consolatione* has the support of EI, and is demanded by the sense.

15. **discriptae**: the Mss. waver between *discriptae* and *descriptae*. Reid prefers *descriptam* in the sense of 'written out,' 'worked out'; but *actum fabulae describere*, so far as I am able to discover, could mean only 'to transcribe (from a copy).'

20. **Quid est enim**, etc.: the favorite interpretation of this pas-

sage is: 'For what *is* waging war with the Gods after the manner of the Giants, if rebellion against Nature is not.' It is perfectly true that the Latin might mean that; but there is nothing to restrict us to that view. To me the interpretation given in the commentary seems the more natural. After defending it with classes for some years, I have recently discovered that it was advocated by Nauck nearly half a century ago.

4. 28. **esses**: this is the reading of all Mss. but LE. Reid objects to *esses* on the ground that the quick succession of *fuissem*, *esses*, *fuisses* is un-Ciceronian. This is doubtless true; but I am inclined to think that perspicuity demands *esses*, and this consideration would have been paramount with Cicero.

5. 25. **Noenum**: *noenum* (Lachmann's conjecture for *non enim* of the Mss.) is commonly explained as the original of *nōn;* but such an etymology is phonetically difficult; *noenum* would have become *nūnum* (just as early Latin *oitilis* became *ūtilis*), but not *nōnum*, *nōn*. Scholars now explain *nōn* as consisting of *nō* (a by-form of *nē*) + the asseverative *-nĕ*, seen for example in Plautus in *Tune*, 'yes, you.'

26. **plusque**: Bernays' conjecture for *postque* of the Mss. Many editors retain *postque* and interpret 'both afterwards and more especially now'; but this does violence to the language. Such an idea, moreover, would have been extremely unnatural.

29. **fuerat in arce**: most Mss. read *fugerat in arce*, except that L and Br have *fuerat* and V has *f*^g^*uerat*. Of recent editors, Anz, Kornitzer, Schiche, Sommerbrodt, all write *fuerat in arce*. Müller and others read *fugerat in arcem*, but *in arcem fugere* seems a strange expression for withdrawing from the walls of a town to the citadel.

6. 21. **Quorsus**: the reading of all Mss. but L.

26. **quiete et pure atque eleganter**: Reid's note on the use of connectives in this passage has been widely copied by subsequent editors. Reid maintains that in enumerations of the form $A + (B_1 + B_2)$ the + outside the bracket is expressed by *et*, the + inside by *atque* (*ac*). But the instances of *et* . . . *atque* cited by Merguet, Lexikon zu den philosophischen Schriften, fail in a number of cases to support this view.

30. **quarto et nonagesimo**: Reid writes *quarto nonagesimo*,

stating that *et* is omitted by Cicero in expressions of this kind when the smaller number precedes, except when it is *unus*. Yet Reid himself reads *tertius et tricesimus* in de Sen. 19, and *quartum et octogesimum*, de Sen. 32, and Merguet's Lexika show that *et* is never omitted by Cicero in the Orations in expressions of this type, and only once in the Philosophical Works, viz. de Officiis, II, 29, *sexto tricesimo*, and here it is so likely that *et* should have fallen out between *-o* and *t-*, that, in view of Cicero's prevailing usage, I should unhesitatingly write *sexto et tricesimo* for that passage.

7. 12. **undevicesimo**: Müller writes *undevicensimo* on the authority of L alone.

16. **suasi**: the Mss. read *suasissem*, except P and H 2682. Of these H 2682 has *suasisset* and P seems originally to have had the same reading, the final *m* being plainly a correction of some other letter. Now the reading *suasisset* points clearly to an earlier *suasi. set*, *i.e. suasi. Sed.* (Final *d* often appears as *t* in Mss.) The indicative is the natural construction here. Hale, *Cum*-Constructions, p. 189, felt the difficulties of *suasissem*, though he defends it.

23. **omnibus fere**: Müller, with most Mss., reads *fere omnibus*; PE have *omnibus fere*. The latter is probably the true reading, as shown by the fact that in the twenty or more instances in Cicero's Orations and Philosophical Works, in which *omnis* limiting a substantive is modified by *fere*, *fere* invariably follows. See the Merguet Lexika.

8. 17. **similesque sunt ut si qui**: to the similar uses cited by other editors, I would add Plautus, Cistellaria, 472, *Simile est ius iurandum amantum quasi ius confusicium.*

21. **Non facit ea**, etc.: most Mss. read *in puppi*, *non faciat ea*, *quae iuvenes*, *at . . . faciat.* But V has *non facit*, while vS have *meliora facit.* Assuming that Cicero wrote *facit . . . facit*, it is easy to see how the former *facit* could have been changed to the subjunctive by some copyist who imagined the clause to be a continuation of the previous subjunctive clauses. The second *facit*, standing immediately under the first, might then easily have become corrupted to *faciat.* Müller reads *faciat . . . faciat*, and expresses amazement at the attitude of recent editors, most of whom read *facit* in one or both places. Müller evidently takes

iuvenes as referring to the crew, but nothing has been said to indicate that the *gubernator* was a *senex*, whereas the point of the whole passage is to assert (what has just been denied in the words: *in re gerenda versari senectutem negant*) that old age (the antithesis of *iuvenes*) does do something.

21. **quibus non modo non orbari, sed etiam augeri senectus solet**: with *augeri* some editors take *quibus* as Ablative of Means; *augere*, in the sense of 'endow,' 'make great,' may take an Ablative of Means, but here the notion is 'to be increased, made greater,' so that the Ablative seems rather one of Specification.

29. **et quo modo; Karthagini**, etc.: Müller marks a lacuna after *quo modo;* I share his suspicion that the text is corrupt; but feeling the need of a reading which shall make sense for the ordinary student, I have printed the common restoration of the passage.

9. 1. **excisam**: Halm, followed by Reid, would read *exscisam* (from *exscindo*), on the ground that *exscindo* is the proper word for 'razing' a city; but unanimous testimony in a number of instances shows that *excido* as well as *exscindo* is used in this sense.

19. **Sic enim percontantur in Naevi poetae Lupo**: Müller reads *Sic enim percontantur † ut est in Naevi poëtae Ludo.* I have arbitrarily omitted *ut est* of the Mss. for the sake of making a readable text. No plausible emendation has yet been offered. In reading *Lupo* for the Ms. *Ludo*, I have followed Ribbeck's conjecture. *Ludo* admits of no satisfactory interpretation. It can hardly mean 'school'; nor does it seem natural to take it as 'The Lydian' (Λυδός), since none of the numerous titles of Naevius's plays shows that he employed national names to designate his pieces. Least of all can *ludus* be taken in the general sense of 'play' (*fabula*). The elevated style of the two lines quoted suggests that they are from one of Naevius's *praetextae*. Ribbeck accordingly proposed to read *Lupo* here. In the Festschrift zum siebzigsten Geburtstage Otto Schade dargebracht (Königsberg, 1896), p. 399 ff., Hermann Reich, in assigning the two lines to the Alimonia Remi et Romuli, is in complete agreement with Ribbeck, if we only assume with Schanz (Römische Literaturgeschichte, I, p. 32) that the Lupus and Alimonia Remi et Romuli were one and the same *praetexta*.

The title *Lupus* (for *lupa*) may have been chosen by Naevius in consequence of the ambiguity of the feminine form (*lupa* 'harlot').

21. **stulti, adulescentuli**: this punctuation is Meissner's. See Commentary.

10. 4. **Quid iuris consulti,** etc.: Müller punctuates *Quid? iuris consulti*, etc. I have followed Reid.

19. **num Hesiodum**: Müller omits *num*, though the word is found in all Mss. I follow most recent editors (Sommerbrodt, Schiche, Anz, Kornitzer) in retaining it.

11. 18. **alteri**: *alteri* is commonly taken as meaning 'one's neighbor,' a well-recognized usage, but hardly appropriate in this connection. As shown by the following context (*Iucundum potius quam odiosum. Ut enim adulescentibus sapientes senes delectantur . . . sic adulescentes senum praeceptis gaudent*), Cato is rebutting the charge that old men are disagreeable to young men. I have, therefore, taken *alteri* as for *alteri aetati*. This is made grammatically easy, owing to the presence of *ea aetate* at the beginning of the same line.

12. 2. **sic avide**: many editors take *sic* as correlative with the following *quasi;* but this is awkward; *sic* for *tam* occurs repeatedly in Cicero, and it is unnatural to dissociate *sic avide;* the two words would inevitably be felt as belonging together.

8. **Nec nunc quidem**: it is not necessary here to take *Nec . . . quidem* as used for *et ne . . . quidem*, as Lahmeyer and Sommerbrodt do. In fact, it is questionable whether *nec . . . quidem* could properly be so taken; the expression is extremely rare, and in the few instances cited seems to differ little from an emphatic *nec*.

11. **agas**: so Müller and the Mss. Reid reads *agis*. He argues that (1) the subjunctive does not occur in Cicero after *quisquis*, *quicunque*, and the like, unless in oratio obliqua or by attraction of the indicative into the mood of a neighboring subjunctive. (2) After *quod est*, *agas* would be doubly peculiar. But I can see no difference between the present passage and Tusc. Disp. I, 14, *quasi non necesse sit quicquid reticeas id aut esse aut non esse.* Here *quicquid reticeas* is not in oratio obliqua, nor does it depend upon another subjunctive. Cf. also de Off. III, 13, 57, *Neque enim id est celare, quicquid reticeas.* In all these cases I

should attribute the employment of the subjunctive to the indefinite 2d singular. Hence *Quod est*, but *quicquid agas*.

28. **persaepe ipsa**: this is the reading of all Mss. but L, which has *per se ipsa*, adopted by Müller. I have written *persaepe*, not only because it seems to me to make much better sense, but because it is palaeographically easier to explain *per se ipsa* of L from the correct reading *persaepe ipsa* (in Mss. often *persepe ipsa*) than *vice versa*.

13. 1. **relinquimus**: this is the reading of most Mss. L alone has *relinquemus*. I see no reason for adopting this with Müller, especially as *relinquimus* gives a more vivid sense.

8. **ista ipsa**: most Mss. have this; LP have *ipsa ista*, adopted by Müller. But even the consensus of two such Mss. as L and P does not warrant us in running counter to Ciceronian usage. In some thirty-three cases in the Orations and Philosophical Works where *ipse* and *iste* are combined the order is invariably *iste ipse*, never *ipse iste*; so regularly *ea ipsa*, *haec ipsa*, etc.

15. 8. **Ne sint**: only R has this, P has *ne desint*, E *nec desint*. Other Mss. read *Non sunt*, adopted by Müller and most recent editors. However, the use of *Non sunt* here in the sense demanded by the context, viz. 'Granted that there is not strength in old age,' seems to me unparalleled. Hence I write *Ne sint*.

21. **si sunt**: the Mss. are divided; LPER read *sint*; BISVv have *sunt*. Müller reads *sint*. But *sunt* seems to make slightly better sense.

24. **morbum**: this is the reading of all Mss. but L; L reads *morborum vim*, followed by Müller.

17. 4. **viventi**: it is common to insist that *viventi* does not limit *intellegitur* directly as a Dative of Agency; but while that construction certainly is not frequent with the uncompounded tenses of the passive, yet indubitable instances do occur, and I see no difficulty in recognizing this as one of them. Certainly to take *viventi* as governed by *obrepat* rather than *intellegitur* is to misconceive the force of the passage, as well as the significance of the Latin word-order.

19. 30. **Magnae Matris**: in the Mss. these words follow *sacris Idaeis*. With Sommerbrodt, Anz, and Kornitzer, I adopt Brieger's transposition.

21. 18. **Exerceri videbamus**: *exerceri* is my own suggestion for *mori* of the Mss., which I agree with Müller in regarding as corrupt, although Kornitzer and others defend it.

19. **Gallum**: the reading of all Mss. except P, which has *Galum*, followed by Müller.

22. 6. **comparandae**: the commentators quite generally assume that this is to be taken in the sense of 'can be compared'; but there is no difficulty in taking it in the regular sense of 'deserve to be compared.'

16. **recusat imperium**: it is perhaps doubtful whether *imperium* can have the technical mercantile sense suggested in the notes, but the preceding and following phrases are clearly technical mercantile expressions, and it seems to me probable that this also is. After taking this view of the passage for some years I discovered that Dr. Peabody in his English translation puts the same interpretation upon it. Lunak, *Philologus*, 52, p. 347, proposes *impendium recusat*, a conjecture originally made by Paulus Manutius and which has never found favor. Lunak cites ad Att. V, 1. 4, *recusat impendium et faenus*.

26. **e quibus**: this is the reading of all Mss. except L, which has *ex*, adopted by Müller.

31. **requietem**: the reading of all Mss. except L, which has *requiem*, adopted by Müller. But except in pro Archia 13, Cicero seems to have regularly written *requietem*.

23. 12. **tamquam ad articulos**: Egbert urges that *tamquam* is unnecessary here, *articulus* being the regular word for the knots or joints in a cutting. But *articulus* does not occur prior to Cicero, nor in any writer after him until the elder Pliny.

15. **dein**: practically all Mss. (LPVv with others) read this. Müller reads *deinde*, apparently under the impression that L had that.

24. 6. **ea**: this is the reading of all Mss. except L; L has *haec*, adopted by Müller.

9. **Ergo**: Several editors, I observe, explain *ergo* as meaning 'for this purpose,' 'with this object in view,' viz. the enjoyment of the delights of farming; but I know no such meaning for *ergo*; here it seems to be used, as so frequently, merely to resume an interrupted train of thought.

13. **a mea**: the Mss. read *me*, followed by Müller; *mea* is Mähly's conjecture, which Müller pronounces probable, though not necessary. I have written *mea* because I cannot find any warrant for the use of the personal pronoun in the sense here demanded. The examples usually cited from Terence in support of *me* seem to me of a different nature; *mea admirari*, moreover, would easily have become *me admirari*. Of recent editors, Meissner, Anz, Kornitzer, Schiche read *mea*.

31. **quam**: the Mss. have *qua;* most editors take this as for *quā*, *i.e. quam* (cf. p. 23, l. 22, *quam dixi*), but Müller writes *de qua*. One of the inferior Paris Mss. collated by Dahl has *quam*.

25. 20. **ut lubebit**: the Mss. as a rule read *utrum*, adopted by Müller and almost all recent editors. I quite agree with Reid, however, that *utrum* here cannot be construed without violating recognized usage; *ut* has no Ms. authority, but, according to Otto, is read in several of the early printed editions.

26. 3. **directos**: this is the Ms. reading, and in the sense of 'arrange' is preferable to *derectos*. Müller writes *derectos* on the authority of Nonius.

13. **virtuti tuae**: with the exception of Nauck, the editors seem to me to misinterpret Cicero's meaning. The position of the words clearly shows that the stress is upon *virtuti tuae;* had the emphasis been upon *fortuna*, that word would have stood either immediately after *quoniam* or (better) at the very end of the sentence. Sommerbrodt is apparently keenly conscious of the force of these considerations, as well as of the fact that the Greek original which Cicero here translates is ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν εὐδαιμονεῖς, 'for 'tis as a possessor of personal worth that you are so happily situated.' Sommerbrodt is prevented from giving these considerations their proper weight (*me iudice*) by the unnecessary and (under the circumstances) extremely improbable view that *fortuna* in the phrase *Hac igitur fortuna* refers to *fortuna* in the passage under discussion. *Hac igitur fortuna*, 'this lot now,' refers rather in a general way to the kind of life described in the two preceding chapters (xv, xvi), whereas *fortuna* in the passage under discussion refers to the special material advantages of Cyrus (*purpura*, *aurum*, *gemmae*, etc.); *igitur* then is simply resumptive of the thought interrupted at the close of chapter xvi.

30. **totum carmen**: LPV have this reading. Other Mss. omit *totum;* so Müller. To me it is more likely that *totum* (especially after *notum*) should have dropped out of those Mss. in which it is lacking, than that it should have been inserted in those Mss. in which it is found.

27. 29. **omnes illi**: Reid takes *illi* as dative. But no such strong demonstrative referring to the old man would be in place here, whereas *illi* (referring to the Lacedaemonians) is necessary with *omnes;* otherwise the Latin means the whole audience. It is evidently to avoid this misconception that *illi* is used by Cicero.

29. 22. **quoniam**: the Mss. read *cum,* which is impossible here. Lambinus conjectured *quod,* adopted by Müller. I have adopted Reid's conjecture, *quoniam,* believing that Cicero would hardly have written *quod id quod.* Assuming that Cicero wrote *quoniam,* we have only to suppose that this became corrupted to *quom* (an easy change, especially as *quoniam* was often abbreviated as *qm̃*). Cicero probably regularly wrote *quom* for the conjunction. The copyists have changed this regularly to *cum.* Hence the Ms. *cum* in the present passage could easily go back (through *quom*) to an original *quoniam,* as conjectured by Reid. Hale, *Cum*-Constructions, p. 243 (German ed. p. 302), defends the Ms. reading *cum.*

30. 24. **vi evelluntur**: I am at a loss to understand the partiality of all recent editors for *vix evelluntur,* the reading of P L Br. It is urged that Cicero would not have used *vis* four times in five lines; but if he could use it thrice in this compass, he certainly might four times, especially if the sense demanded. It is also urged that *vi* is redundant with *evelluntur,* since every act of plucking necessitates the exercise of force. On the other hand, it is scarcely less than ridiculous and in direct contradiction of the experience of every lad of enterprise to say that apples are 'plucked with difficulty,' or that they 'can hardly be pulled off.'

32. **possis**: the reading of all Mss. except PL, which have *possit* (L *posset*) adopted by Müller; but the subjunctive is anomalous here, except in the indefinite 2d singular. The 3d singular would demand the indicative.

mortemque contemnere: these words are bracketed as an interpolation by Müller and others. The evidence is hardly sufficient, to my mind, to warrant this attitude.

31. 15. **elogium est**: the reading of most Mss.; *est* is omitted by LP. Halm and Baiter, followed by Müller, transpose *elogium est* of the Mss., and read *est elogium*. I see no justification of this.

19. **dacrumis**: this is Bergk's conjecture, which I have adopted on account of the alliteration. Sommerbrodt, Meissner, Anz, Kornitzer, among recent editors, read *dacrumis;* Müller, *lacrumis*.

31. **cum recorder**: this is the reading of most Mss.; SE, followed by Sommerbrodt and Reid, have *recordor;* but the *cum*-clause here is in meaning essentially causal, and the subjunctive is to be preferred.

32. 24. **Equidem non**: the reading of most Mss. LP have *Non enim*, followed by Müller. It is easier to account for *non enim* in LP on the basis of an original *equidem non*, than to account for *equidem non* of the other Mss. on the basis of an original *non enim*. Assuming that *equidem* once became corrupted to *enim non*, the transposition *non enim* would be the next step.

27. **tuum, Scipio, tuumque, Laeli**: most Mss. have *P. Scipio, tuque C. Laeli*, and this is read by Müller; LP have *tu, Scipio, tuque Laeli*. I have followed Anz and Kornitzer in adopting Schiche's conjecture, thus omitting the praenomina, which seem quite out of place here.

35. 6. **multo melius**; this is the reading of E alone. The other Mss. have *melius multo*, adopted by Müller. But out of some two hundred occurrences of *multo* with comparatives in Cicero's Philosophical Works, *multo* follows the comparatives in only three instances, Ac. II, 82; Fin. III, 41; IV, 9. Hence I follow E, and should suspect the three exceptional cases.

36. 8. **quod contra**: Reid and others take *contra* here as an adverb, and seem to regard *quod* as an Accusative of Specification, a construction which Delbrück with reason refuses to recognize for the prose of the Ciceronian era. See his Vergleichende Syntax, I, p. 392.

26. **defatigationem**: the Mss. vary between *defatigationem* and *defectionem*. Müller and several other recent editors read *defectionem;* but *defatigationem* seems a much more natural antithesis of *saturitas* than would *defectionem*.

The Students' Series of Latin Classics

M. TULLI CICERONIS

LAELIUS DE AMICITIA

WITH NOTES

BY

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PREFACE

For the text of this edition, I have endeavored to utilize the critical material that has appeared since the publication of Müller's edition (Leipsic, 1879). In the commentary the aim has been to give only such information as the student needs for an adequate understanding of the text. All discussion of moot points, whether of text or interpretation, has been relegated to a Critical Appendix.

In the preparation of the notes I have been especially aided by the excellent commentaries of Reid, Strelitz, and Meissner.

To Professor Pease, Professor Alfred Gudeman, of the University of Pennsylvania, Professor H. C. Elmer, and Mr. Chas. L. Durham, of Cornell University, I wish also to extend acknowledgment for valuable assistance and advice.

Ithaca, December 1, 1897.

INTRODUCTION

1. Time of Composition of the de Amicitia. — With the overthrow of Pompey at Pharsalus in 48 B.C. and the consequent ascendency of Julius Caesar, Cicero had retired completely from the arena of political life. Resigning himself of necessity to the centralizing policy of Caesar, he sought consolation in his ever-favorite pursuit of philosophy, and it is to these closing years of his life that his chief philosophical works belong, among them the de Amicitia. This little essay was written in 44 B.C., not long after Caesar's assassination.

2. Atticus. — The essay is dedicated to Cicero's intimate friend, Titus Pomponius Atticus. Atticus was born in 109 B.C. of an old and wealthy equestrian family. From 88 to 65 B.C. he had resided at Athens, devoting his time to literary and philosophical studies. Returning to Rome in 65 B.C., he had lived on terms of intimacy with the first men of his day. His friendship with Cicero had begun early in life, when the two were students together, and is well attested by the sixteen books of letters (Epistulae ad Atticum) which have come down to us. This correspondence begins in 68 B.C. and continues for twenty-five years, ending only a few months before Cicero's death (December 7, 43 B.C.). Atticus never entered public life. His death occurred eleven years after that of Cicero, in 32 B.C.

3. Occasion of the Dialogue; its Dramatic Date. — The time of the alleged conversation is 129 B.C. Fannius and Scaevola come to the house of their father-in-law, Laelius, who is mourning the recent loss of his life-long friend, Scipio. From a discussion of Scipio's character and achievements the conver-

sation naturally turns to Laelius's intimate friendship with Scipio, and this in turn leads to the subject of friendship in general, on which, at the request of the young men, Laelius sets forth his views at length.

4. The Interlocutors:

(*a*) *Laelius.* Gaius Laelius was born shortly before 185 B.C. In 155 B.C. his interest in philosophy was first roused by listening to the teachings of three Greek philosophers, — Diogenes, Critolaus, and Carneades, — who, having come to Rome on a diplomatic errand, ventured to set forth to Roman youth the tenets of their several schools. It was Stoicism which appealed most strongly to Laelius, and he subsequently pursued his studies in this field under Panaetius of Rhodes, the most important representative of the Stoic school at that time. Entering public life, he was tribune of the plebs in 151 B.C., served in the Third Punic War, and was present at the fall of Carthage in 146 B.C.; the year following he was elected praetor. In this capacity he took the field and successfully conducted the Lusitanian campaign against Viriathus. The same year he was chosen augur, and took a prominent part in opposing the movement to change the existing method of electing the members of the augural college. Hitherto vacancies arising in this board had been filled by the augurs themselves. The tribune Crassus proposed to transfer the election to the people, but his plans were defeated by Laelius (see § 96 of the de Amicitia). Four years later (141 B.C.) Laelius was defeated as candidate for the consulship, but was successful the year afterward.

In his general character Laelius combined Greek ideality, love of literature and philosophy on the one hand, with Roman common-sense and wisdom in practical affairs on the other. The surname *Sapiens* given him by his contemporaries was probably intended to recognize both these sides of his character. Personally he was mild of manner, warm-hearted, and thoroughly optimistic. For his relations with Scipio, see below, § 5.

(*b*) *Scaevola.* Quintus Mucius Scaevola, the augur, was son-in-law of Laelius. The dates of his birth and death are unknown,

but he lived at least till 88 B.C., and was of advanced age at that time. In his earlier years he had been in public life, and held the offices of tribune (128 B.C.), plebeian aedile (125 B.C.), praetor (121 B.C.), and consul (117 B.C.). As praetor he had been governor of the province of Asia, and upon his return from this post was accused of extortion by T. Albucius, but was acquitted. His greatest fame, however, was as a lawyer. Even to his last years he gave advice freely on legal questions to all who sought his counsel. He is one of the speakers also in Cicero's de Oratore.

(c) *Fannius.* Gaius Fannius Strabo, also a son-in-law of Laelius, was born about 174 B.C., and served as a soldier under Scipio before Carthage in 146 B.C., and under Fabius Maximus in Spain in 142 B.C. In 122 B.C. he held the consulship. Like Laelius, he was a pupil of Panaetius. He also wrote an historical work devoted chiefly to a recital of events in which he had himself participated. This is now lost, but was commended by Cicero for its excellent style, and by Sallust for its great accuracy.

5. **Scipio.** — Scipio Africanus the younger was a son of Lucius Aemilius Paulus, the conqueror of Macedonia. The name Scipio he took from his adoptive father, P. Cornelius Scipio (son of the elder Africanus), adding the surname Aemilianus in token of his actual descent. Scipio was born about 185 B.C. and died (or was murdered) in 129 B.C., a few days before the time at which the following dialogue purports to have taken place. He had early begun to devote himself to arms, serving his first campaign under his father Paulus in the Macedonian War of 168 B.C. Subsequently he served in Spain under Lucullus in 151 B.C.; but the crowning glory of his military career was the overthrow of Carthage in 146 B.C.

Second only to Scipio's success in the field must be reckoned his enlightened interest in literature and philosophy, and his generous patronage of men of letters. In early life he had felt the impulse of the Greek teachers who visited Rome in 155 B.C. In his maturer years he became the centre of an intellectual

circle embracing his friend Laelius, L. Furius Philus, Scaevola (the augur), Fannius, and the poets Lucilius and Terence. Rumor had it that he assisted Terence in the composition of his comedies.

To Laelius, Scipio was attached by ties of the closest friendship. At home and in the field the two were inseparable. Cicero in the Republic (I, 18) tells us that Laelius reverenced Scipio as divine in consequence of his military prowess, while Scipio in turn regarded Laelius as a father. Their views of life and government were identical; even the observations on friendship which Cicero in this dialogue puts in the mouth of Laelius are expressly declared by the latter to be those of his friend.

Politically Scipio was a firm aristocrat. He had been absent in Spain at the time of the disturbances which culminated in the murder of Tiberius Gracchus, but on his return he spoke out boldly and, though married to Sempronia, the sister of Gracchus, did not hesitate to declare his belief that the agitator had been justly slain. This was in 133 B.C., and for the four remaining years of his life Scipio was the recognized leader of the aristocratic party. One morning in 129 B.C. he was found dead in his bed. Whether he was the victim of violence or died a natural death was never known. Suspicion pointed to foul play at the hands of his political opponents. Rumor linked itself especially with the names of Fulvius, Carbo, and the younger Gracchus. Of these, Carbo was the most generally suspected, and is even expressly mentioned by Cicero as the author of the deed.

M. TULLI CICERONIS

LAELIUS DE AMICITIA LIBER

AD T. POMPONIUM ATTICUM

I. 1. Q. Mucius augur multa narrare de C. Laelio socero suo memoriter et iucunde solebat nec dubitare illum in omni sermone appellare sapientem; ego autem a patre ita eram deductus ad Scaevolam sumpta virili toga, ut, quoad possem et liceret, a senis latere numquam discederem; itaque multa ab eo prudenter disputata, multa etiam breviter et commode dicta memoriae mandabam fierique studebam eius prudentia doctior. Quo mortuo me ad pontificem Scaevolam contuli, quem unum nostrae civitatis et ingenio et iustitia praestantissimum audeo dicere. Sed de hoc alias; nunc redeo ad augurem.

2. Cum saepe multa, tum memini domi in hemicyclio sedentem, ut solebat, cum et ego essem una et pauci admodum familiares, in eum sermonem illum incidere, qui tum permultis erat in ore. Meministi enim profecto, Attice, et eo magis, quod P. Sulpicio utebare multum, cum is tribunus plebis capitali odio a Q. Pompeio, qui tum erat consul, dissideret, quocum coniunctissime et amantissime vixerat, quanta esset

hominum vel admiratio vel querela. **3.** Itaque tum Scaevola cum in eam ipsam mentionem incidisset, exposuit nobis sermonem Laeli de amicitia, habitum ab illo secum et cum altero genero, C. Fannio Marci filio, paucis diebus post mortem Africani. Eius disputationis sententias memoriae mandavi, quas hoc libro exposui arbitratu meo; quasi enim ipsos induxi loquentes, ne '*inquam*' et '*inquit*' saepius interponeretur, atque ut tamquam a praesentibus coram haberi sermo videretur.

4. Cum enim saepe mecum ageres, ut de amicitia scriberem aliquid, digna mihi res cum omnium cognitione, tum nostra familiaritate visa est. Itaque feci non invitus, ut prodessem multis rogatu tuo. Sed ut in Catone Maiore, qui est scriptus ad te de senectute, Catonem induxi senem disputantem, quia nulla videbatur aptior persona, quae de illa aetate loqueretur, quam eius, qui et diutissime senex fuisset et in ipsa senectute praeter ceteros floruisset, sic, cum accepissemus a patribus maxime memorabilem C. Laeli et P. Scipionis familiaritatem fuisse, idonea mihi Laeli persona visa est, quae de amicitia ea ipsa dissereret, quae disputata ab eo meminisset Scaevola. Genus autem hoc sermonum positum in hominum veterum auctoritate, et eorum illustrium, plus nescio quo pacto videtur habere gravitatis; itaque ipse mea legens sic afficior interdum, ut Catonem, non me loqui existimem. **5.** Sed ut tum ad senem senex de senectute, sic hoc libro ad amicum amicissimus scripsi de amicitia. Tum est Cato locutus, quo erat nemo fere senior temporibus illis, nemo prudentior; nunc Laelius et sapiens (sic enim est habitus) et amicitiae

gloria excellens de amicitia loquetur. Tu velim a me animum parumper avertas, Laelium loqui ipsum putes. C. Fannius et Q. Mucius ad socerum veniunt post mortem Africani; ab his sermo oritur, respondet Laelius, cuius tota disputatio est de amicitia, quam legens te ipse cognosces.

II. **6.** *Fannius.* Sunt ista, Laeli; nec enim melior vir fuit Africano quisquam nec clarior. Sed existimare debes omnium oculos in te esse coniectos unum; te sapientem et appellant et existimant. Tribuebatur hoc modo M. Catoni, scimus L. Acilium apud patres nostros appellatum esse sapientem, sed uterque alio quodam modo, Acilius, quia prudens esse in iure civili putabatur, Cato, quia multarum rerum usum habebat; multa eius et in senatu et in foro vel provisa prudenter vel acta constanter vel responsa acute ferebantur; propterea quasi cognomen iam habebat in senectute sapientis. Te autem alio quodam modo non solum natura et moribus, verum etiam studio et doctrina esse sapientem, nec sicut vulgus, sed ut eruditi solent appellare sapientem, qualem in reliqua Graecia neminem **7.** (nam qui septem appellantur, eos, qui ista subtilius quaerunt, in numero sapientium non habent), Athenis unum accepimus, et eum quidem etiam Apollinis oraculo sapientissimum iudicatum; hanc esse in te sapientiam existimant, ut omnia tua in te posita esse ducas humanosque casus virtute inferiores putes. Itaque ex me quaerunt, credo ex hoc item Scaevola, quonam pacto mortem Africani feras, eoque magis, quod proximis Nonis cum in hortos D. Bruti auguris commentandi causa, ut assolet, venissemus, tu non adfuisti, qui diligen-

tissime semper illum diem et illud munus solitus esses obire.

8. *Scaevola.* Quaerunt quidem, C. Laeli, multi, ut est a Fannio dictum, sed ego id respondeo, quod animum adverti, te dolorem, quem acceperis cum summi viri, tum amicissimi morte, ferre moderate nec potuisse non commoveri nec fuisse id humanitatis tuae; quod autem Nonis in collegio nostro non adfuisses, valetudinem respondeo causam, non maestitiam fuisse.

Laelius. Recte tu quidem, Scaevola, et vere; nec enim ab isto officio, quod semper usurpavi, cum valerem, abduci incommodo meo debui, nec ullo casu arbitror hoc constanti homini posse contingere, ut ulla intermissio fiat offici. 9. Tu autem, Fanni, quod mihi tantum tribui dicis, quantum ego nec agnosco nec postulo, facis amice; sed, ut mihi videris, non recte iudicas de Catone; aut enim nemo, quod quidem magis credo, aut, si quisquam, ille sapiens fuit. Quo modo, ut alia omittam, mortem fili tulit! memineram Paulum, videram Galum, sed hi in pueris, Cato in perfecto et spectato viro. 10. Quam ob rem cave Catoni anteponas ne istum quidem ipsum, quem Apollo, ut ais, sapientissimum iudicavit; huius enim facta, illius dicta laudantur. De me autem, ut iam cum utroque vestrum loquar, sic habetote:

III. Ego si Scipionis desiderio me moveri negem, quam id recte faciam, viderint sapientes; sed certe mentiar. Moveor enim tali amico orbatus, qualis, ut arbitror, nemo umquam erit, ut confirmare possum, nemo certe fuit; sed non egeo medicina, me ipse consolor, et maxime illo solacio, quod eo errore careo,

quo amicorum decessu plerique angi solent. Nihil mali accidisse Scipioni puto; mihi accidit, si quid accidit; suis autem incommodis graviter angi non amicum, sed se ipsum amantis est. **11.** Cum illo vero quis neget actum esse praeclare? Nisi enim, quod ille minime putabat, immortalitatem optare vellet, quid non adeptus est, quod homini fas esset optare? qui summam spem civium, quam de eo iam puero habuerant, continuo adulescens incredibili virtute superavit, qui consulatum petivit numquam, factus consul est bis, primum ante tempus, iterum sibi suo tempore, rei publicae paene sero, qui duabus urbibus eversis inimicissimis huic imperio non modo praesentia, verum etiam futura bella delevit. Quid dicam de moribus facillimis, de pietate in matrem, liberalitate in sorores, bonitate in suos, iustitia in omnes? nota sunt vobis. Quam autem civitati carus fuerit, maerore funeris indicatum est. Quid igitur hunc paucorum annorum accessio iuvare potuisset? Senectus enim quamvis non sit gravis, ut memini Catonem anno ante, quam est mortuus, mecum et cum Scipione disserere, tamen aufert eam viriditatem, in qua etiam nunc erat Scipio. **12.** Quam ob rem vita quidem talis fuit vel fortuna vel gloria, ut nihil posset accedere, moriendi autem sensum celeritas abstulit; quo de genere mortis difficile dictu est; quid homines suspicentur, videtis; hoc vere tamen licet dicere, P. Scipioni ex multis diebus, quos in vita celeberrimos laetissimosque viderit, illum diem clarissimum fuisse, cum senatu dimisso domum reductus ad vesperum est a patribus conscriptis, populo Romano, sociis et Latinis, pridie quam excessit e vita, ut ex

tam alto dignitatis gradu ad superos videatur deos potius quam ad inferos pervenisse.

IV. **13**. Neque enim assentior eis, qui haec nuper disserere coeperunt, cum corporibus simul animos interire atque omnia morte deleri; plus apud me antiquorum auctoritas valet, vel nostrorum maiorum, qui mortuis tam religiosa iura tribuerunt, quod non fecissent profecto, si nihil ad eos pertinere arbitrarentur, vel eorum, qui in hac terra fuerunt Magnamque Graeciam, quae nunc quidem deleta est, tum florebat, institutis et praeceptis suis erudierunt, vel eius, qui Apollinis oraculo sapientissimus est iudicatus, qui non tum hoc, tum illud, uti plerique, sed idem semper, animos hominum esse divinos, eisque, cum ex corpore excessissent, reditum in caelum patere, optimoque et iustissimo cuique expeditissimum. **14**. Quod idem Scipioni videbatur, qui quidem, quasi praesagiret, perpaucis ante mortem diebus, cum et Philus et Manilius adesset et alii plures, tuque etiam, Scaevola, mecum venisses, triduum disseruit de re publica; cuius disputationis fuit extremum fere de immortalitate animorum, quae se in quiete per visum ex Africano audisse dicebat. Id si ita est, ut optimi cuiusque animus in morte facillime evolet tamquam e custodia vinclisque corporis, cui censemus cursum ad deos faciliorem fuisse quam Scipioni? Quocirca maerere hoc eius eventu vereor ne invidi magis quam amici sit. Sin autem illa veriora, ut idem interitus sit animorum et corporum nec ullus sensus maneat, ut nihil boni est in morte, sic certe nihil mali; sensu enim amisso fit idem, quasi natus non esset omnino, quem tamen esse natum et nos gaudemus et haec civitas, dum erit, laetabitur.

15. Quam ob rem cum illo quidem, ut supra dixi, actum optime est, mecum incommodius, quem fuerat aequius, ut prius introieram, sic prius exire de vita. Sed tamen recordatione nostrae amicitiae sic fruor, ut beate vixisse videar, quia cum Scipione vixerim, quocum mihi coniuncta cura de publica re et de privata fuit, quocum et domus fuit et militia communis et, id in quo est omnis vis amicitiae, voluntatum, studiorum, sententiarum summa consensio. Itaque non tam ista me sapientiae, quam modo Fannius commemoravit, fama delectat, falsa praesertim, quam quod amicitiae nostrae memoriam spero sempiternam fore, idque eo mihi magis est cordi, quod ex omnibus saeculis vix tria aut quattuor nominantur paria amicorum; quo in genere sperare videor Scipionis et Laeli amicitiam notam posteritati fore.

16. *Fannius.* Istuc quidem, Laeli, ita necesse est. Sed quoniam amicitiae mentionem fecisti et sumus otiosi, pergratum mihi feceris, spero item Scaevolae, si, quem ad modum soles de ceteris rebus, cum ex te quaeruntur, sic de amicitia disputaris quid sentias, qualem existimes, quae praecepta des.

Scaevola. Mihi vero erit gratum; atque id ipsum cum tecum agere conarer, Fannius antevortit. Quam ob rem utrique nostrum gratum admodum feceris.

V. **17.** *Laelius.* Ego vero non gravarer, si mihi ipse confiderem; nam et praeclara res est et sumus, ut dixit Fannius, otiosi. Sed quis ego sum? aut quae est in me facultas? doctorum est ista consuetudo, eaque Graecorum, ut eis ponatur, de quo disputent quamvis subito; magnum opus est egetque exercitatione non parva. Quam ob rem, quae disputári de amicitia pos-

sunt, ab eis censeo petatis, qui ista profitentur; ego vos hortari tantum possum, ut amicitiam omnibus rebus humanis anteponatis; nihil est enim tam naturae aptum, tam conveniens ad res vel secundas vel adversas. **18.** Sed hoc primum sentio, nisi in bonis amicitiam esse non posse; neque id ad vivum reseco, ut illi, qui haec subtilius disserunt, fortasse vere, sed ad communem utilitatem parum; negant enim quemquam esse virum bonum nisi sapientem. Sit ita sane; sed eam sapientiam interpretantur, quam adhuc mortalis nemo est consecutus, nos autem ea, quae sunt in usu vitaque communi, non ea, quae finguntur aut optantur, spectare debemus. Numquam ego dicam C. Fabricium, M'. Curium, Ti. Coruncanium, quos sapientes nostri maiores iudicabant, ad istorum normam fuisse sapientes. Quare sibi habeant sapientiae nomen et invidiosum et obscurum; concedant, ut viri boni fuerint. Ne id quidem facient, negabunt id nisi sapienti posse concedi. **19.** Agamus igitur pingui, ut aiunt, Minerva. Qui ita se gerunt, ita vivunt, ut eorum probetur fides integritas, aequitas liberalitas, nec sit in eis ulla cupiditas, libido, audacia, sintque magna constantia, ut ei fuerunt, modo quos nominavi, hos viros bonos, ut habiti sunt, sic etiam appellandos putemus, quia sequantur, quantum homines possunt, naturam, optimam bene vivendi ducem. Sic enim mihi perspicere videor, ita natos esse nos, ut inter omnes esset societas quaedam, maior autem, ut quisque proxime accederet. Itaque cives potiores quam peregrini, propinqui quam alieni; cum his enim amicitiam natura ipsa peperit; sed ea non satis habet firmitatis. Namque hoc praestat amicitia propinquitati, quod ex pro-

pinquitate benevolentia tolli potest, ex amicitia non potest; sublata enim benevolentia amicitiae nomen tollitur, propinquitatis manet. **20**. Quanta autem vis amicitiae sit, ex hoc intellegi maxime potest, quod ex infinita societate generis humani, quam conciliavit ipsa natura, ita contracta res est et adducta in angustum, ut omnis caritas aut inter duos aut inter paucos iungeretur.

VI. Est enim amicitia nihil aliud nisi omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum cum benevolentia et caritate consensio; qua quidem haud scio an excepta sapientia nihil melius homini sit a dis immortalibus datum. Divitias alii praeponunt, bonam alii valetudinem, alii potentiam, alii honores, multi etiam voluptates. Beluarum hoc quidem extremum, illa autem superiora caduca et incerta, posita non tam in consiliis nostris quam in fortunae temeritate. Qui autem in virtute summum bonum ponunt, praeclare illi quidem, sed haec ipsa virtus amicitiam et gignit et continet, nec sine virtute amicitia esse ullo pacto potest. **21**. Iam virtutem ex consuetudine vitae sermonisque nostri interpretemur nec eam, ut quidam docti, verborum magnificentia metiamur virosque bonos eos, qui habentur, numeremus, Paulos, Catones, Galos, Scipiones, Philos; his communis vita contenta est; eos autem omittamus, qui omnino nusquam reperiuntur. **22**. Talis igitur inter viros amicitia tantas opportunitates habet, quantas vix queo dicere. Principio qui potest esse vita '*vitalis*,' ut ait Ennius, quae non in amici mutua benevolentia conquiescit? Quid dulcius quam habere, quicum omnia audeas sic loqui ut tecum? Qui esset tantus fructus in prosperis rebus, nisi haberes, qui

illis aeque ac tu ipse gauderet? adversas vero ferre difficile esset sine eo, qui illas gravius etiam quam tu ferret. Denique ceterae res, quae expetuntur, opportunae sunt singulae rebus fere singulis, divitiae, ut utare, opes, ut colare, honores, ut laudere, voluptates, ut gaudeas, valetudo, ut dolore careas et muneribus fungare corporis; amicitia res plurimas continet; quoquo te verteris, praesto est, nullo loco excluditur, numquam intempestiva, numquam molesta est; itaque non aqua, non igni, ut aiunt, locis pluribus utimur quam amicitia. Neque ego nunc de vulgari aut de mediocri, quae tamen ipsa et delectat et prodest, sed de vera et perfecta loquor, qualis eorum, qui pauci nominantur, fuit. Nam et secundas res splendidiores facit amicitia et adversas partiens communicansque leviores.

VII. **23.** Cumque plurimas et maximas commoditates amicitia contineat, tum illa nimirum praestat omnibus, quod bonam spem praelucet in posterum nec debilitari animos aut cadere patitur. Verum enim amicum qui intuetur, tamquam exemplar aliquod intuetur sui. Quocirca et absentes adsunt et egentes abundant et imbecilli valent et, quod difficilius dictu est, mortui vivunt; tantus eos honos, memoria, desiderium prosequitur amicorum. Ex quo illorum beata mors videtur, horum vita laudabilis. Quodsi exemeris ex rerum natura benevolentiae coniunctionem, nec domus ulla nec urbs stare poterit, ne agri quidem cultus permanebit. Id si minus intellegitur, quanta vis amicitiae concordiaeque sit, ex dissensionibus atque discordiis percipi potest. Quae enim domus tam stabilis, quae tam firma civitas est,

quae non odiis et discidiis funditus possit everti? Ex quo, quantum boni sit in amicitia, iudicari potest. **24**. Agrigentinum quidem doctum quendam virum carminibus Graecis vaticinatum ferunt, quae in rerum natura totoque mundo constarent, quaeque moverentur, ea contrahere amicitiam, dissipare discordiam. Atque hoc quidem omnes mortales et intellegunt et re probant. Itaque, si quando aliquod officium exstitit amici in periculis aut adeundis aut communicandis, quis est, qui id non maximis efferat laudibus? Qui clamores tota cavea nuper in hospitis et amici mei M. Pacuvi nova fabula! cum ignorante rege, uter Orestes esset, Pylades Orestem se esse diceret, ut pro illo necaretur, Orestes autem, ita ut erat, Orestem se esse perseveraret. Stantes plaudebant in re ficta; quid arbitramur in vera facturos fuisse? Facile indicabat ipsa natura vim suam, cum homines, quod facere ipsi non possent, id recte fieri in altero iudicarent.

Hactenus mihi videor de amicitia quid sentirem potuisse dicere; si qua praeterea sunt (credo autem esse multa), ab eis, si videbitur, qui ista disputant, quaeritote.

25. *Fannius*. Nos autem a te potius; quamquam etiam ab istis saepe quaesivi et audivi non invitus equidem; sed aliud quoddam filum orationis tuae.

Scaevola. Tum magis id diceres, Fanni, si nuper in hortis Scipionis, cum est de re publica disputatum, adfuisses. Qualis tum patronus iustitiae fuit contra accuratam orationem Phili!

Fannius. Facile id quidem fuit, iustitiam iustissimo viro defendere.

Scaevola. Quid? amicitiam nonne facile ei, qui ob eam summa fide, constantia iustitiaque servatam maximam gloriam ceperit?

VIII. **26.** *Laelius.* Vim hoc quidem est afferre. Quid enim refert, qua me ratione cogatis? cogitis certe. Studiis enim generorum, praesertim in re bona, cum difficile est, tum ne aequum quidem obsistere.

Saepissime igitur mihi de amicitia cogitanti maxime illud considerandum videri solet, utrum propter imbecillitatem atque inopiam desiderata sit amicitia, ut dandis recipiendisque meritis, quod quisque minus per se ipse posset, id acciperet ab alio vicissimque redderet, an esset hoc quidem proprium amicitiae, sed antiquior et pulchrior et magis a natura ipsa profecta alia causa. Amor enim, ex quo amicitia nominata est, princeps est ad benevolentiam coniungendam. Nam utilitates quidem etiam ab eis percipiuntur saepe, qui simulatione amicitiae coluntur et observantur temporis causa, in amicitia autem nihil fictum est, nihil simulatum et, quidquid est, id est verum et voluntarium. **27.** Quapropter a natura mihi videtur potius quam ab indigentia orta amicitia, applicatione magis animi cum quodam sensu amandi quam cogitatione, quantum illa res utilitatis esset habitura. Quod quidem quale sit, etiam in bestiis quibusdam animadverti potest, quae ex se natos ita amant ad quoddam tempus et ab eis ita amantur, ut facile earum sensus appareat. Quod in homine multo est evidentius, primum ex ea caritate, quae est inter natos et parentes, quae dirimi nisi detestabili scelere non potest; deinde cum similis sensus exstitit amoris, si aliquem nacti sumus,

cuius cum moribus et natura congruamus, quod in eo quasi lumen aliquod probitatis et virtutis perspicere videamur. **28**. Nihil est enim virtute amabilius, nihil, quod magis alliciat ad diligendum, quippe cum propter virtutem et probitatem etiam eos, quos numquam vidimus, quodam modo diligamus. Quis est, qui C. Fabrici, M'. Curi non cum caritate aliqua benevola memoriam usurpet, quos numquam viderit? quis autem est, qui Tarquinium Superbum, qui Sp. Cassium, Sp. Maelium non oderit? Cum duobus ducibus de imperio in Italia est decertatum, Pyrrho et Hannibale; ab altero propter probitatem eius non nimis alienos animos habemus, alterum propter crudelitatem semper haec civitas oderit.

IX. **29**. Quod si tanta vis probitatis est, ut eam vel in eis, quos numquam vidimus, vel, quod maius est, in hoste etiam diligamus, quid mirum est, si animi hominum moveantur, cum eorum, quibuscum usu coniuncti esse possunt, virtutem et bonitatem perspicere videantur? Quamquam confirmatur amor et beneficio accepto et studio perspecto et consuetudine adiuncta, quibus rebus ad illum primum motum animi et amoris adhibitis admirabilis quaedam exardescit benevolentiae magnitudo. Quam si qui putant ab imbecillitate proficisci, ut sit, per quem assequatur, quod quisque desideret, humilem sane relinquunt et minime generosum, ut ita dicam, ortum amicitiae, quam ex inopia atque indigentia natam volunt. Quod si ita esset, ut quisque minimum esse in se arbitraretur, ita ad amicitiam esset aptissimus; quod longe secus est. **30**. Ut enim quisque sibi plurimum confidit, et ut quisque maxime virtute et sapientia sic munitus est, ut nullo

egeat suaque omnia in se ipso posita iudicet, ita in amicitiis expetendis colendisque maxime excellit. Quid enim? Africanus indigens mei? Minime hercule! ac ne ego quidem illius; sed ego admiratione quadam virtutis eius, ille vicissim opinione fortasse non nulla, quam de meis moribus habebat, me dilexit; auxit benevolentiam consuetudo. Sed quamquam utilitates multae et magnae consecutae sunt, non sunt tamen ab earum spe causae diligendi profectae. **31**. Ut enim benefici liberalesque sumus, non ut exigamus gratiam (neque enim beneficium faeneramur, sed natura propensi ad liberalitatem sumus), sic amicitiam non spe mercedis adducti, sed quod omnis eius fructus in ipso amore inest, expetendam putamus. **32**. Ab his, qui pecudum ritu ad voluptatem omnia referunt, longe dissentiunt, nec mirum; nihil enim altum, nihil magnificum ac divinum suspicere possunt, qui suas omnes cogitationes abiecerunt in rem tam humilem tamque contemptam. Quam ob rem hos quidem ab hoc sermone removeamus, ipsi autem intellegamus natura gigni sensum diligendi et benevolentiae caritatem facta significatione probitatis. Quam qui appetiverunt, applicant se et propius admovent, ut et usu eius, quem diligere coeperunt, fruantur et moribus, sintque pares in amore et aequales propensioresque ad bene merendum quam ad reposcendum, atque haec inter eos sit honesta certatio. Sic et utilitates ex amicitia maximae capientur, et erit eius ortus a natura quam ab imbecillitate gravior et verior. Nam si utilitas amicitias conglutinaret, eadem commutata dissolveret; sed quia natura mutari non potest, idcirco verae ami-

citiae sempiternae sunt. Ortum quidem amicitiae videtis, nisi quid ad haec forte vultis.

Fannius. Tu vero perge, Laeli; pro hoc enim, qui minor est natu, meo iure respondeo.

33. *Scaevola.* Recte tu quidem. Quam ob rem audiamus.

X. *Laelius.* Audite vero, optimi viri, ea, quae saepissime inter me et Scipionem de amicitia disserebantur. Quamquam ille quidem nihil difficilius esse dicebat, quam amicitiam usque ad extremum vitae diem permanere. Nam, vel ut non idem expediret, incidere saepe, vel ut de re publica non idem sentiretur; mutari etiam mores hominum saepe dicebat, alias adversis rebus, alias aetate ingravescente. Atque earum rerum exemplum ex similitudine capiebat ineuntis aetatis, quod summi puerorum amores saepe una cum praetexta toga ponerentur; **34.** sin autem ad adulescentiam perducti essent, dirimi tamen interdum contentione vel uxoriae condicionis vel commodi alicuius, quod idem adipisci uterque non posset. Quod si qui longius in amicitia provecti essent, tamen saepe labefactari, si in honoris contentionem incidissent; pestem enim nullam maiorem esse amicitiis quam in plerisque pecuniae cupiditatem, in optimis quibusque honoris certamen et gloriae; ex quo inimicitias maximas saepe inter amicissimos exstitisse. **35.** Magna etiam discidia et plerumque iusta nasci, cum aliquid ab amicis, quod rectum non esset, postularetur, ut aut libidinis ministri aut adiutores essent ad iniuriam; quod qui recusarent, quamvis honeste id facerent, ius tamen amicitiae deserere arguerentur ab eis, quibus obsequi nollent. Illos autem, qui quidvis ab amico auderent

postulare, postulatione ipsa profiteri omnia se amici causa esse facturos. Eorum querela inveterata non modo familiaritates exstingui solere, sed odia etiam gigni sempiterna. Haec ita multa quasi fata impendere amicitiis, ut omnia subterfugere non modo sapientiae, sed etiam felicitatis diceret sibi videri.

XI. **36**. Quam ob rem id primum videamus, si placet, quatenus amor in amicitia progredi debeat. Numne, si Coriolanus habuit amicos, ferre contra patriam arma illi cum Coriolano debuerunt? Num Vecellinum amici regnum appetentem, num Maelium debuerunt iuvare? **37**. Tib. quidem Gracchum rem publicam vexantem a Q. Tuberone aequalibusque amicis derelictum videbamus. At C. Blossius Cumanus, hospes familiae vestrae, Scaevola, cum ad me, quod aderam Laenati et Rupilio consulibus in consilio, deprecatum venisset, hanc, ut sibi ignoscerem, causam afferebat, quod tanti Tib. Gracchum fecisset, ut, quidquid ille vellet, sibi faciendum putaret. Tum ego: '*Etiamne, si te in Capitolium faces ferre vellet?*' '*Numquam,*' inquit, '*voluisset id quidem; sed si voluisset, paruissem.*' Videtis, quam nefaria vox. Et hercule ita fecit, vel plus etiam quam dixit; non enim paruit ille Ti. Gracchi temeritati, sed praefuit, nec se comitem illius furoris, sed ducem praebuit. Itaque hac amentia quaestione nova perterritus in Asiam profugit, ad hostes se contulit, poenas rei publicae graves iustasque persolvit. Nulla est igitur excusatio peccati, si amici causa peccaveris; nam, cum conciliatrix amicitiae virtutis opinio fuerit, difficile est amicitiam manere, si a virtute defeceris. **38**. Quod si rectum statuerimus vel concedere amicis, quidquid velint, vel

impetrare ab eis, quidquid velimus, perfecta quidem sapientia si simus, nihil habeat res viti; sed loquimur de eis amicis, qui ante oculos sunt, quos vidimus aut de quibus memoriam accepimus, quos novit vita communis. Ex hoc numero nobis exempla sumenda sunt, et eorum quidem maxime, qui ad sapientiam proxime accedunt. **39.** Videmus Papum Aemilium Luscino familiarem fuisse (sic a patribus accepimus), bis una consules, collegas in censura; tum et cum eis et inter se coniunctissimos fuisse M'. Curium, Ti. Coruncanium memoriae proditum est. Igitur ne suspicari quidem possumus quemquam horum ab amico quippiam contendisse, quod contra fidem, contra ius iurandum, contra rem publicam esset. Nam hoc quidem in talibus viris quid attinet dicere, si contendisset, impetraturum non fuisse? cum illi sanctissimi viri fuerint, aeque autem nefas sit tale aliquid et facere rogatum et rogare. At vero Tib. Gracchum sequebantur C. Carbo, C. Cato, et minime tum quidem C. frater nunc idem acerrimus.

XII. **40.** Haec igitur lex in amicitia sanciatur, ut neque rogemus res turpes nec faciamus rogati. Turpis enim excusatio est et minime accipienda cum in ceteris peccatis, tum si quis contra rem publicam se amici causa fecisse fateatur. Etenim eo loco, Fanni et Scaevola, locati sumus, ut nos longe prospicere oporteat futuros casus rei publicae. Deflexit iam aliquantum de spatio curriculoque consuetudo maiorum. **41.** Tib. Gracchus regnum occupare conatus est, vel regnavit is quidem paucos menses. Num quid simile populus Romanus audierat aut viderat? Hunc etiam post mortem secuti amici et propinqui quid in P. Scipi-

one effecerint, sine lacrimis non queo dicere.) Nam Carbonem, quoquo modo potuimus, propter recentem poenam Tib. Gracchi sustinuimus; de C. Gracchi autem tribunatu quid exspectem, non libet augurari. Serpit clam ea res, quae proclivis ad perniciem, cum semel coepit, labitur. Videtis, in tabella iam ante quanta sit facta labes, primo Gabinia lege, biennio autem post Cassia. Videre iam videor populum a senatu disiunctum, multitudinis arbitrio res maximas agi. Plures enim discent, quem ad modum haec fiant, quam quem ad modum eis resistatur. **42**. Quorsum haec? Quia sine sociis nemo quicquam tale conatur. Praecipiendum est igitur bonis, ut, si in eius modi amicitias ignari casu aliquo inciderint, ne existiment ita se alligatos, ut ab amicis in magna aliqua re peccantibus non discedant; improbis autem poena statuenda est, nec vero minor eis, qui secuti erunt alterum, quam eis, qui ipsi fuerint impietatis duces. Quis clarior in Graecia Themistocle, quis potentior? Qui cum imperator bello Persico servitute Graeciam liberavisset propterque invidiam in exsilium expulsus esset, ingratae patriae iniuriam non tulit, quam ferre debuit, fecit idem, quod xx annis ante apud nos fecerat Coriolanus. His adiutor contra patriam inventus est nemo; itaque mortem sibi uterque conscivit. **43**. Quare talis improborum consensio non modo excusatione amicitiae tegenda non est, sed potius supplicio omni vindicanda est, ut ne quis concessum putet amicum vel bellum patriae inferentem sequi; quod quidem, ut res ire coepit, haud scio an aliquando futurum sit. Mihi autem non minori curae est, qualis res publica post mortem meam futura sit, quam qualis hodie sit.

XIII. **44.** Haec igitur prima lex amicitiae sanciatur, ut ab amicis honesta petamus, amicorum causa honesta faciamus, ne exspectemus quidem, dum rogemur; studium semper adsit, cunctatio absit; consilium verum dare audeamus libere. Plurimum in amicitia amicorum bene suadentium valeat auctoritas, eaque et adhibeatur ad monendum non modo aperte, sed etiam acriter, si res postulabit, et adhibitae pareatur. **45.** Nam quibusdam, quos audio sapientes habitos in Graecia, placuisse opinor mirabilia quaedam (sed nihil est, quod illi non persequantur argutiis): partim fugiendas esse nimias amicitias, ne necesse sit unum sollicitum esse pro pluribus; satis superque esse sibi suarum cuique rerum, alienis nimis implicari molestum esse; commodissimum esse quam laxissimas habenas habere amicitiae, quas vel adducas, cum velis, vel remittas; caput enim esse ad beate vivendum securitatem, qua frui non possit animus, si tamquam parturiat unus pro pluribus. **46.** Alios autem dicere aiunt multo etiam inhumanius (quem locum breviter paulo ante perstrinxi) praesidi adiumentique causa, non benevolentiae neque caritatis amicitias esse expetendas; itaque, ut quisque minimum firmitatis haberet minimumque virium, ita amicitias appetere maxime; ex eo fieri, ut mulierculae magis amicitiarum praesidia quaerant quam viri et inopes quam opulenti et calamitosi quam ei, qui putentur beati. **47.** O praeclaram sapientiam! Solem enim e mundo tollere videntur, qui amicitiam e vita tollunt, qua nihil a dis immortalibus melius habemus, nihil iucundius. Quae est enim ista securitas? Specie quidem blanda, sed reapse multis locis repudianda. Neque

enim est consentaneum ullam honestam rem actionemve, ne sollicitus sis, aut non suscipere aut susceptam deponere. Quod si curam fugimus, virtus fugienda est, quae necesse est cum aliqua cura res sibi contrarias aspernetur atque oderit, ut bonitas malitiam, temperantia libidinem, ignaviam fortitudo; itaque videas rebus iniustis iustos maxime dolere, imbellibus fortes, flagitiosis modestos. Ergo hoc proprium est animi bene constituti, et laetari bonis rebus et dolere contrariis. **48**. Quam ob rem, si cadit in sapientem animi dolor, qui profecto cadit, nisi ex eius animo exstirpatam humanitatem arbitramur, quae causa est, cur amicitiam funditus tollamus e vita, ne aliquas propter eam suscipiamus molestias? Quid enim interest motu animi sublato non dico inter pecudem et hominem, sed inter hominem et truncum aut saxum aut quidvis generis eiusdem? Neque enim sunt isti audiendi, qui virtutem duram et quasi ferream esse quandam volunt; quae quidem est cum multis in rebus, tum in amicitia tenera atque tractabilis, ut et bonis amici quasi diffundatur et incommodis contrahatur. Quam ob rem angor iste, qui pro amico saepe capiendus est, non tantum valet, ut tollat e vita amicitiam, non plus quam ut virtutes, quia non nullas curas et molestias afferunt, repudientur.

XIV. Cum autem contrahat amicitiam, ut supra dixi, si qua significatio virtutis eluceat, ad quam se similis animus applicet et adiungat, id cum contigit, amor exoriatur necesse est. **49**. Quid enim tam absurdum quam delectari multis inanimis rebus, ut honore, ut gloria, ut aedificio, ut vestitu cultuque corporis, animante virtute praedito, eo qui vel amare

vel, ut ita dicam, redamare possit, non admodum delectari? Nihil est enim remuneratione benevolentiae, nihil vicissitudine studiorum officiorumque iucundius. **50**. Quid, si illud etiam addimus, quod recte addi potest, nihil esse, quod ad se rem ullam tam alliciat et tam trahat quam ad amicitiam similitudo? concedetur profecto verum esse, ut bonos boni diligant asciscantque sibi quasi propinquitate coniunctos atque natura. Nihil est enim appetentius similium sui nec rapacius quam natura. Quam ob rem hoc quidem, Fanni et Scaevola, constet, ut opinor, bonis inter bonos quasi necessariam benevolentiam, qui est amicitiae fons a natura constitutus. Sed eadem bonitas etiam ad multitudinem pertinet. Non enim est inhumana virtus neque immunis neque superba, quae etiam populos universos tueri eisque optime consulere soleat; quod non faceret profecto, si a caritate vulgi abhorreret. **51**. Atque etiam mihi quidem videntur, qui utilitatis causa fingunt amicitias, amabilissimum nodum amicitiae tollere. Non enim tam utilitas parta per amicum quam amici amor ipse delectat, tumque illud fit, quod ab amico est profectum, iucundum, si cum studio est profectum; tantumque abest, ut amicitiae propter indigentiam colantur, ut ei, qui opibus et copiis maximeque virtute, in qua plurimum est praesidi, minime alterius indigeant, liberalissimi sint et beneficentissimi. Atque haud sciam an ne opus sit quidem nihil umquam omnino deesse amicis. Ubi enim studia nostra viguissent, si numquam consilio, numquam opera nostra nec domi nec militiae Scipio eguisset? Non igitur utilitatem amicitia, sed utilitas amicitiam secuta est.

XV. **52**. Non ergo erunt homines deliciis diffluentes audiendi, si quando de amicitia, quam nec usu nec ratione habent cognitam, disputabunt. Nam quis est (pro deorum fidem atque hominum) qui velit, ut neque diligat quemquam nec ipse ab ullo diligatur, circumfluere omnibus copiis atque in omnium rerum abundantia vivere? Haec enim est tyrannorum vita nimirum, in qua nulla fides, nulla caritas, nulla stabilis benevolentiae potest esse fiducia, omnia semper suspecta atque sollicita, nullus locus amicitiae. **53**. Quis enim aut eum diligat, quem metuat, aut eum, a quo se metui putet? Coluntur tamen simulatione dumtaxat ad tempus. Quod si forte, ut fit plerumque, ceciderunt, tum intellegitur, quam fuerint inopes amicorum. Quod Tarquinium dixisse ferunt, tum exsulantem se intellexisse, quos fidos amicos habuisset, quos infidos, cum iam neutris gratiam referre posset. **54**. Quamquam miror, illa superbia et importunitate si quemquam amicum habere potuit. Atque ut huius, quem dixi, mores veros amicos parare non potuerunt, sic multorum opes praepotentium excludunt amicitias fideles. Non enim solum ipsa Fortuna caeca est, sed eos etiam plerumque efficit caecos, quos conplexa est; itaque efferuntur fere fastidio et contumacia, nec quicquam insipiente fortunato intolerabilius fieri potest. Atque hoc quidem videre licet, eos, qui antea commodis fuerint moribus, imperio, potestate, prosperis rebus immutari, sperni ab eis veteres amicitias, indulgeri novis. **55**. Quid autem stultius quam, cum plurimum copiis, facultatibus, opibus possint, cetera parare, quae parantur pecunia, equos, famulos, vestem egregiam, vasa

pretiosa, amicos non parare, optimam et pulcherrimam vitae, ut ita dicam, supellectilem? etenim cetera cum parant, cui parent, nesciunt, nec cuius causa laborent (eius enim est istorum quidque, qui vicit viribus), amicitiarum sua cuique permanet stabilis et certa possessio; ut, etiamsi illa maneant, quae sunt quasi dona Fortunae, tamen vita inculta et deserta ab amicis non possit esse iucunda. Sed haec hactenus.

XVI. **56**. Constituendi autem sunt, qui sint in amicitia fines et quasi termini diligendi. De quibus tres video sententias ferri, quarum nullam probo, unam, ut eodem modo erga amicum affecti simus, quo erga nosmet ipsos, alteram, ut nostra in amicos benevolentia illorum erga nos benevolentiae pariter aequaliterque respondeat, tertiam, ut, quanti quisque se ipse faciat, tanti fiat ab amicis. **57**. Harum trium sententiarum nulli prorsus assentior. Nec enim illa prima vera est, ut, quem ad modum in se quisque sit, sic in amicum sit animatus. Quam multa enim, quae nostra causa numquam faceremus, facimus causa amicorum! precari ab indigno, supplicare, tum acerbius in aliquem invehi insectarique vehementius, quae in nostris rebus non satis honeste, in amicorum fiunt honestissime; multaeque res sunt, in quibus de suis commodis viri boni multa detrahunt detrahique patiuntur, ut eis amici potius quam ipsi fruantur. **58**. Altera sententia est, quae definit amicitiam paribus officiis ac voluntatibus. Hoc quidem est nimis exigue et exiliter ad calculos vocare amicitiam, ut par sit ratio acceptorum et datorum. Divitior mihi et affluentior videtur esse vera amicitia nec observare restricte, ne plus reddat quam acceperit; neque enim

verendum est, ne quid excidat, aut ne quid in terram defluat, aut ne plus aequo quid in amicitiam congeratur. **59**. Tertius vero ille finis deterrimus, ut, quanti quisque se ipse faciat, tanti fiat ab amicis. Saepe enim in quibusdam aut animus abiectior est aut spes amplificandae fortunae fractior. Non est igitur amici talem esse in eum, qualis ille in se est, sed potius eniti et efficere, ut amici iacentem animum excitet inducatque in spem cogitationemque meliorem. Alius igitur finis verae amicitiae constituendus est, si prius, quid maxime reprehendere Scipio solitus sit, dixero. Negabat ullam vocem inimiciorem amicitiae potuisse reperiri quam eius, qui dixisset ita amare oportere, ut si aliquando esset osurus; nec vero se adduci posse, ut hoc, quem ad modum putaretur, a Biante esse dictum crederet, qui sapiens habitus esset unus e septem; impuri cuiusdam aut ambitiosi aut omnia ad suam potentiam revocantis esse sententiam. Quonam enim modo quisquam amicus esse poterit ei, cui se putabit inimicum esse posse? quin etiam necesse erit cupere et optare, ut quam saepissime peccet amicus, quo plures det sibi tamquam ansas ad reprehendendum; rursum autem recte factis commodisque amicorum necesse erit angi, dolere, invidere. **60**. Quare hoc quidem praeceptum, cuiuscumque est, ad tollendam amicitiam valet; illud potius praecipiendum fuit, ut eam diligentiam adhiberemus in amicitiis comparandis, ut ne quando amare inciperemus eum, quem aliquando odisse possemus. Quin etiam, si minus felices in diligendo fuissemus, ferendum id Scipio potius quam inimicitiarum tempus cogitandum putabat.

XVII. **61.** His igitur finibus utendum arbitror, ut, cum emendati mores amicorum sint, tum sit inter eos omnium rerum, consiliorum, voluntatum sine ulla exceptione communitas, ut etiam, si qua fortuna acciderit ut minus iustae amicorum voluntates adiuvandae sint, in quibus eorum aut caput agatur aut fama, declinandum de via sit, modo ne summa turpitudo sequatur; est enim, quatenus amicitiae dari venia possit. Nec vero neglegenda est fama, nec mediocre telum ad res gerendas existimare oportet benevolentiam civium; quam blanditiis et assentando colligere turpe est; virtus, quam sequitur caritas, minime repudianda est. **62.** Sed (saepe enim redeo ad Scipionem, cuius omnis sermo erat de amicitia) querebatur, quod omnibus in rebus homines diligentiores essent; capras et oves quot quisque haberet, dicere posse, amicos quot haberet, non posse dicere, et in illis quidem parandis adhibere curam, in amicis eligendis neglegentis esse nec habere quasi signa quaedam et notas, quibus eos, qui ad amicitias essent idonei, iudicarent. Sunt igitur firmi et stabiles et constantes eligendi; cuius generis est magna penuria. Et iudicare difficile est sane nisi expertum; experiendum autem est in ipsa amicitia. Ita praecurrit amicitia iudicium tollitque experiendi potestatem. **63.** Est igitur prudentis sustinere ut cursum, sic impetum benevolentiae, quo utamur quasi equis temptatis, sic amicitiis ex aliqua parte periclitatis moribus amicorum. Quidam saepe in parva pecunia perspiciuntur quam sint leves, quidam autem, quos parva movere non potuit, cognoscuntur in magna. Sint vero aliqui reperti, qui pecuniam praeferre

amicitiae sordidum existiment, ubi eos inveniemus, qui honores, magistratus, imperia, potestates, opes amicitiae non anteponant, ut, cum ex altera parte proposita haec sint, ex altera ius amicitiae, non multo illa malint? Imbecilla enim est natura ad contemnendam potentiam; quam etiamsi neglecta amicitia consecuti sint, obscuratum iri arbitrantur, quia non sine magna causa sit neglecta amicitia. **64**. Itaque verae amicitiae difficillime reperiuntur in eis, qui in honoribus reque publica versantur; ubi enim istum invenias, qui honorem amici anteponat suo? Quid? haec ut omittam, quam graves, quam difficiles plerisque videntur calamitatum societates! ad quas non est facile inventu qui descendant. Quamquam Ennius recte:

> Amícus certus ín re incerta cérnitur,

tamen haec duo levitatis et infirmitatis plerosque convincunt: aut in bonis rebus contemnunt aut in malis deserunt.

XVIII. Qui igitur utraque in re gravem, constantem, stabilem se in amicitia praestiterit, hunc ex maxime raro genere hominum iudicare debemus et paene divino.

65. Firmamentum autem stabilitatis constantiaeque eius, quam in amicitia quaerimus, fides est; nihil est enim stabile, quod infidum est. Simplicem praeterea et communem et consentientem, id est qui rebus isdem moveatur, eligi par est, quae omnia pertinent ad fidelitatem; neque enim fidum potest esse multiplex ingenium et tortuosum, neque vero, qui non isdem rebus movetur naturaque consentit, aut

fidus aut stabilis potest esse. Addendum eodem est, ut ne criminibus aut inferendis delectetur aut credat oblatis, quae pertinent omnia ad eam, quam iam dudum tracto, constantiam. Ita fit verum illud, quod initio dixi, amicitiam nisi inter bonos esse non posse. Est enim boni viri, quem eundem sapientem licet dicere, haec duo tenere in amicitia: primum ne quid fictum sit neve simulatum; aperte enim vel odisse magis ingenui est quam fronte occultare sententiam; deinde non solum ab aliquo allatas criminationes repellere, sed ne ipsum quidem esse suspiciosum, semper aliquid existimantem ab amico esse violatum. **66**. Accedat huc suavitas quaedam oportet sermonum atque morum, haudquaquam mediocre condimentum amicitiae. Tristitia autem et in omni re severitas habet illa quidem gravitatem, sed amicitia remissior esse debet et liberior et dulcior et ad omnem comitatem facilitatemque proclivior.

XIX. **67**. Exsistit autem hoc loco quaedam quaestio subdifficilis, num quando amici novi, digni amicitia, veteribus sint anteponendi, ut equis vetulis teneros anteponere solemus. Indigna homine dubitatio! Non enim debent esse amicitiarum sicut aliarum rerum satietates; veterrima quaeque, ut ea vina, quae vetustatem ferunt, esse debet suavissima; verumque illud est, quod dicitur, multos modios salis simul edendos esse, ut amicitiae munus expletum sit. **68**. Novitates autem si spem afferunt, ut tamquam in herbis non fallacibus fructus appareat, non sunt illae quidem repudiandae, vetustas tamen suo loco conservanda; maxima est enim vis vetustatis et consuetudinis. Quin in ipso equo, cuius modo feci mentionem, si

nulla res impediat, nemo est, quin eo, quo consuevit, libentius utatur quam intractato et novo. Nec vero in hoc, quod est animal, sed in eis etiam, quae sunt inanima, consuetudo valet, cum locis ipsis delectemur, montuosis etiam et silvestribus, in quibus diutius commorati sumus.

69. Sed maximum est in amicitia parem esse inferiori. Saepe enim excellentiae quaedam sunt, qualis erat Scipionis in nostro, ut ita dicam, grege. Numquam se ille Philo, numquam Rupilio, numquam Mummio anteposuit, numquam inferioris ordinis amicis, Q. vero Maximum fratrem, egregium virum omnino, sibi nequaquam parem, quod is anteibat aetate, tamquam superiorem colebat suosque omnes per se posse esse ampliores volebat. **70**. Quod faciendum imitandumque est omnibus, ut, si quam praestantiam virtutis, ingeni, fortunae consecuti sint, impertiant ea suis communicentque cum proximis, ut, si parentibus nati sint humilibus, si propinquos habeant imbecilliore vel animo vel fortuna, eorum augeant opes eisque honori sint et dignitati. Ut in fabulis, qui aliquamdiu propter ignorationem stirpis et generis in famulatu fuerunt, cum cogniti sunt et aut deorum aut regum filii inventi, retinent tamen caritatem in pastores, quos patres multos annos esse duxerunt. Quod est multo profecto magis in veris patribus certisque faciendum. Fructus enim ingeni et virtutis omnisque praestantiae tum maximus capitur, cum in proximum quemque confertur.

XX. **71**. Ut igitur ei, qui sunt in amicitiae coniunctionisque necessitudine superiores, exaequare se cum inferioribus debent, sic inferiores non dolere se

a suis aut ingenio aut fortuna aut dignitate superari. Quorum plerique aut queruntur semper aliquid aut etiam exprobrant, eoque magis, si habere se putant, quod officiose et amice et cum labore aliquo suo factum queant dicere. Odiosum sane genus hominum officia exprobrantium; quae meminisse debet is, in quem collata sunt, non commemorare, qui contulit. **72**. Quam ob rem, ut ei, qui superiores sunt, summittere se debent in amicitia, sic quodam modo inferiores extollere. Sunt enim quidam, qui molestas amicitias faciunt, cum ipsi se contemni putant; quod non fere contingit nisi eis, qui etiam contemnendos se arbitrantur; qui hac opinione non modo verbis, sed etiam opera levandi sunt. **73**. Tantum autem cuique tribuendum, primum quantum ipse efficere possis, deinde etiam quantum ille, quem diligas atque adiuves, sustinere. Non enim neque tu possis, quamvis excellas, omnes tuos ad honores amplissimos perducere, ut Scipio P. Rupilium potuit consulem efficere, fratrem eius L. non potuit. Quodsi etiam possis quidvis deferre ad alterum, videndum est tamen, quid ille possit sustinere.

74. Omnino amicitiae corroboratis iam confirmatisque et ingeniis et aetatibus iudicandae sunt, nec, si qui ineunte aetate venandi aut pilae studiosi fuerunt, eos habere necessarios, quos tum eodem studio praeditos dilexerunt. Isto enim modo nutrices et paedagogi iure vetustatis plurimum benevolentiae postulabunt; qui neglegendi quidem non sunt, sed alio quodam modo aestimandi. Aliter amicitiae stabiles permanere non possunt. Dispares enim mores disparia studia sequuntur, quorum dissimilitudo dissociat

amicitias; nec ob aliam causam ullam boni improbis, improbi bonis amici esse non possunt, nisi quod tanta est inter eos, quanta maxima potest esse, morum studiorumque distantia. **75.** Recte etiam praecipi potest in amicitiis, ne intemperata quaedam benevolentia, quod persaepe fit, impediat magnas utilitates amicorum. Nec enim, ut ad fabulas redeam, Troiam Neoptolemus capere potuisset, si Lycomedem, apud quem erat educatus, multis cum lacrimis iter suum impedientem audire voluisset. Et saepe incidunt magnae res, ut discedendum sit ab amicis; quas qui impedire vult, quod desiderium non facile ferat, is et infirmus est mollisque natura et ob eam ipsam causam in amicitia parum iustus. **76.** Atque in omni re considerandum est, et quid postules ab amico et quid patiare a te impetrari.

XXI. Est etiam quaedam calamitas in amicitiis dimittendis non numquam necessaria; iam enim a sapientium familiaritatibus ad vulgares amicitias oratio nostra delabitur. Erumpunt saepe vitia amicorum tum in ipsos amicos, tum in alienos, quorum tamen ad amicos redundet infamia. Tales igitur amicitiae sunt remissione usus solvendae et, ut Catonem dicere audivi, dissuendae magis quam discindendae, nisi quaedam admodum intolerabilis iniuria exarserit, ut neque rectum neque honestum sit nec fieri possit, ut non statim alienatio disiunctioque facienda sit. **77.** Sin autem aut morum aut studiorum commutatio quaedam, ut fieri solet, facta erit aut in rei publicae partibus dissensio intercesserit (loquor enim iam, ut paulo ante dixi, non de sapientium, sed de communibus amicitiis), cavendum erit,

ne non solum amicitiae depositae, sed etiam inimicitiae susceptae videantur. Nihil enim est turpius quam cum eo bellum gerere, quocum familiariter vixeris. Ab amicitia Q. Pompei meo nomine se removerat, ut scitis, Scipio; propter dissensionem autem, quae erat in re publica, alienatus est a collega nostro Metello; utrumque egit graviter, at cum bonitate et offensione animi non acerba. **78.** Quam ob rem primum danda opera est, ne qua amicorum discidia fiant; sin tale aliquid evenerit, ut exstinctae potius amicitiae quam oppressae esse videantur. Cavendum vero, ne etiam in graves inimicitias convertant se amicitiae; ex quibus iurgia, maledicta, contumeliae gignuntur. Quae tamen si tolerabiles erunt, ferendae sunt, et hic honos veteri amicitiae tribuendus, ut is in culpa sit, qui faciat, non is, qui patiatur iniuriam.

Omnino omnium horum vitiorum atque incommodorum una cautio est atque una provisio, ut ne nimis cito diligere incipiant neve non dignos. **79.** Digni autem sunt amicitia, quibus in ipsis inest causa, cur diligantur. Rarum genus. Et quidem omnia praeclara rara, nec quicquam difficilius quam reperire, quod sit omni ex parte in suo genere perfectum. Sed plerique neque in rebus humanis quicquam bonum norunt, nisi quod fructuosum sit, et amicos tamquam pecudes eos potissimum diligunt, ex quibus sperant se maximum fructum esse capturos. **80.** Ita pulcherrima illa et maxime naturali carent amicitia per se et propter se expetita nec ipsi sibi exemplo sunt, haec vis amicitiae et qualis et quanta sit. Ipse enim se quisque diligit, non ut aliquam a se ipse mercedem exigat caritatis suae, sed quod per se sibi quisque

carus est. Quod nisi idem in amicitiam transferetur, verus amicus numquam reperietur; est enim is, qui est tamquam alter idem. **81.** Quodsi hoc apparet in bestiis, volucribus, nantibus, agrestibus, cicuribus, feris, primum ut se ipsae diligant (id enim pariter cum omni animante nascitur), deinde ut requirant atque appetant, ad quas se applicent eiusdem generis animantis, idque faciunt cum desiderio et cum quadem similitudine amoris humani, quanto id magis in homine fit natura, qui et se ipse diligit et alterum anquirit, cuius animum ita cum suo misceat, ut efficiat paene unum ex duobus!

XXII. **82.** Sed plerique perverse, ne dicam impudenter, habere talem amicum volunt, quales ipsi esse non possunt, quaeque ipsi non tribuunt amicis, haec ab eis desiderant. Par est autem primum ipsum esse virum bonum, tum alterum similem sui quaerere. In talibus ea, quam iam dudum tractamus, stabilitas amicitiae confirmari potest, cum homines benevolentia coniuncti primum cupiditatibus eis, quibus ceteri serviunt, imperabunt, deinde aequitate iustitiaque gaudebunt, omniaque alter pro altero suscipiet, neque quicquam umquam nisi honestum et rectum alter ab altero postulabit, neque solum colent inter se ac diligent, sed etiam verebuntur. Nam maximum ornamentum amicitiae tollit, qui ex ea tollit verecundiam. **83.** Itaque in eis perniciosus est error, qui existimant lubidinum peccatorumque omnium patere in amicitia licentiam; virtutum amicitia adiutrix a natura data est, non vitiorum comes, ut, quoniam solitaria non posset virtus ad ea, quae summa sunt, pervenire, coniuncta et consociata cum altera perve-

niret. Quae si quos inter societas aut est aut fuit aut futura est, eorum est habendus ad summum naturae bonum optimus beatissimusque comitatus. **84**. Haec est, inquam, societas, in qua omnia insunt, quae putant homines expetenda, honestas, gloria, tranquillitas animi atque iucunditas, ut et, cum haec adsint, beata vita sit et sine his esse non possit. Quod cum optimum maximumque sit, si id volumus adipisci, virtuti opera danda est, sine qua nec amicitiam neque ullam rem expetendam consequi possumus; ea vero neglecta qui se amicos habere arbitrantur, tum se denique errasse sentiunt, cum eos gravis aliquis casus experiri cogit. **85**. Quocirca (dicendum est enim saepius), cum iudicaris, diligere oportet, non, cum dilexeris, iudicare. Sed cum multis in rebus neglegentia plectimur, tum maxime in amicis et deligendis et colendis; praeposteris enim utimur consiliis et acta agimus, quod vetamur vetere proverbio. Nam implicati ultro et citro vel usu diuturno vel etiam officiis, repente in medio cursu amicitias exorta aliqua offensione dirumpimus.

XXIII. **86**. Quo etiam magis vituperanda est rei maxime necessariae tanta incuria. Una est enim amicitia in rebus humanis, de cuius utilitate omnes uno ore consentiunt. Quamquam a multis virtus ipsa contemnitur et venditatio quaedam atque ostentatio esse dicitur; multi divitias despiciunt, quos parvo contentos tenuis victus cultusque delectat; honores vero, quorum cupiditate quidam inflammantur, quam multi ita contemnunt, ut nihil inanius, nihil esse levius existiment! itemque cetera, quae quibus-

dam admirabilia videntur, permulti sunt qui pro nihilo putent; de amicitia omnes ad unum idem sentiunt, et ei, qui ad rem publicam se contulerunt, et ei, qui rerum cognitione doctrinaque delectantur, et ei, qui suum negotium gerunt otiosi, postremo ei, qui se totos tradiderunt voluptatibus, sine amicitia vitam esse nullam, si modo velint aliqua ex parte liberaliter vivere. **87.** Serpit enim nescio quo modo per omnium vitas amicitia nec ullam aetatis degendae rationem patitur esse expertem sui. Quin etiam si quis asperitate ea est et immanitate naturae, congressus ut hominum fugiat atque oderit, qualem fuisse Athenis Timonem nescio quem accepimus, tamen is pati non possit ut non anquirat aliquem, apud quem evomat virus acerbitatis suae. Atque hoc maxime iudicaretur, si quid tale posset contingere, ut aliquis nos deus ex hac hominum frequentia tolleret et in solitudine uspiam collocaret atque ibi suppeditans omnium rerum, quas natura desiderat, abundantiam et copiam hominis omnino aspiciendi potestatem eriperet. Quis tam esset ferreus, qui eam vitam ferre posset, cuique non auferret fructum voluptatum omnium solitudo? **88.** Verum ergo illud est, quod a Tarentino Archyta, ut opinor, dici solitum nostros senes commemorare audivi ab aliis senibus auditum: '*si quis in caelum ascendisset naturamque mundi et pulchritudinem siderum perspexisset, insuavem illam admirationem ei fore; quae iucundissima fuisset, si aliquem, cui narraret, habuisset.*' Sic natura solitarium nihil amat semperque ad aliquod tamquam adminiculum annititur; quod in amicissimo quoque dulcissimum est.

XXIV. Sed cum tot signis eadem natura declaret, quid velit, anquirat, desideret, tamen obsurdescimus nescio quo modo nec ea, quae ab ea monemur, audimus. Est enim varius et multiplex usus amicitiae, multaeque causae suspicionum offensionumque dantur, quas tum evitare, tum elevare, tum ferre sapientis est; una illa subeunda offensio est, ut et utilitas in amicitia et fides retineatur: nam et monendi amici saepe sunt et obiurgandi, et haec accipienda amice, cum benevole fiunt. **89**. Sed nescio quo modo verum est, quod in Andria familiaris meus dicit:

Obséquium amicos, véritas odiúm parit.

Molesta veritas, siquidem ex ea nascitur odium, quod est venenum amicitiae, sed obsequium multo molestius, (quod peccatis indulgens praecipitem amicum ferri sinit;) maxima autem culpa in eo, qui et veritatem aspernatur et in fraudem obsequio impellitur. Omni igitur hac in re habenda ratio et diligentia est, primum ut monitio acerbitate, deinde ut obiurgatio contumelia careat; in obsequio autem, quoniam Terentiano verbo libenter utimur, comitas adsit, assentatio, vitiorum adiutrix, procul amoveatur, quae non modo amico, sed ne libero quidem digna est; aliter enim cum tyranno, aliter cum amico vivitur. **90**. Cuius autem aures clausae veritati sunt, ut ab amico verum audire nequeat, huius salus desperanda est. Scitum est enim illud Catonis, ut multa: '*melius de quibusdam acerbos inimicos mereri quam eos amicos, qui dulces videantur; illos verum saepe dicere, hos numquam.*' Atque illud absurdum, quod ei, qui

monentur, eam molestiam, quam debent capere, non capiunt, eam capiunt, qua debent vacare; peccasse enim se non anguntur, obiurgari moleste ferunt; quod contra oportebat delicto dolere, correctione gaudere.

XXV. **91**. Ut igitur et monere et moneri proprium est verae amicitiae et alterum libere facere, non aspere, alterum patienter accipere, non repugnanter, sic habendum est nullam in amicitiis pestem esse maiorem quam adulationem, blanditiam, assentationem; quamvis enim multis nominibus est hoc vitium notandum levium hominum atque fallacium ad voluntatem loquentium omnia, nihil ad veritatem. **92**. Cum autem omnium rerum simulatio vitiosa est (tollit enim iudicium veri idque adulterat), tum amicitiae repugnat maxime; delet enim veritatem, sine qua nomen amicitiae valere non potest. Nam cum amicitiae vis sit in eo, ut unus quasi animus fiat ex pluribus, qui id fieri poterit, si ne in uno quidem quoque unus animus erit idemque semper, sed varius, commutabilis, multiplex? **93**. Quid enim potest esse tam flexibile, tam devium quam animus eius, qui ad alterius non modo sensum ac voluntatem, sed etiam vultum atque nutum convertitur?

Négat quis, nego; ait, áio; postremo ímperavi egomét mihi
Ómnia assentári,

ut ait idem Terentius, sed ille in Gnathonis persona, quod amici genus adhibere omnino levitatis est. **94**. Multi autem Gnathonum similes cum sint loco, fortuna, fama superiores, horum est assentatio molesta, cum ad vanitatem accessit auctoritas.

95. Secerni autem blandus amicus a vero et internosci tam potest adhibita diligentia quam omnia fucata et simulata a sinceris atque veris. Contio, quae ex imperitissimis constat, tamen iudicare solet, quid intersit inter popularem, id est assentatorem et levem civem, et inter constantem et severum et gravem. **96**. Quibus blanditiis C. Papirius nuper influebat in auris contionis, cum ferret legem de tribunis plebis reficiendis! Dissuasimus nos; sed nihil de me, de Scipione dicam libentius. Quanta illi, di immortales, fuit gravitas, quanta in oratione maiestas! ut facile ducem populi Romani, [non comitem] diceres. Sed adfuistis, et est in manibus oratio. Itaque lex popularis suffragiis populi repudiata est. Atque, ut ad me redeam, meministis, Q. Maximo, fratre Scipionis, et L. Mancino consulibus quam popularis lex de sacerdotiis C. Licini Crassi videbatur! cooptatio enim collegiorum ad populi beneficium transferebatur; atque is primus instituit in forum versus agere cum populo. Tamen illius vendibilem orationem religio deorum inmortalium nobis defendentibus facile vincebat. Atque id actum est praetore me quinquennio ante, quam consul sum factus; ita re magis quam summa auctoritate causa illa defensa est.

XXVI. **97**. Quodsi in scaena, id est in contione, in qua rebus fictis et adumbratis loci plurimum est, tamen verum valet, si modo id patefactum et illustratum est, quid in amicitia fieri oportet, quae tota veritate perpenditur? in qua nisi, ut dicitur, apertum pectus videas tuumque ostendas, nihil fidum, nihil exploratum habeas, ne amare quidem aut amari, cum, id quam vere fiat, ignores. Quamquam ista assen-

tatio, quamvis perniciosa sit, nocere tamen nemini potest nisi ei, qui eam recipit atque ea delectatur. Ita fit, ut is assentatoribus patefaciat aures suas maxime, qui ipse sibi assentetur et se maxime ipse delectet. **98**. Omnino est amans sui virtus; optime enim se ipsa novit, quamque amabilis sit, intellegit. Ego autem non de virtute nunc loquor, sed de virtutis opinione. Virtute enim ipsa non tam multi praediti esse quam videri volunt. Hos delectat assentatio, his fictus ad ipsorum voluntatem sermo cum adhibetur, orationem illam vanam testimonium esse laudum suarum putant. Nulla est igitur haec amicitia, cum alter verum audire non vult, alter ad mentiendum paratus est. Nec parasitorum in comoediis assentatio faceta nobis videretur, nisi essent milites gloriosi.

Magnás vero agere grátias Thaís mihi?

Satis erat respondere: '*magnas*'; '*ingentes*', inquit. Semper auget assentator id, quod is, cuius ad voluntatem dicitur, vult esse magnum. **99**. Quam ob rem, quamquam blanda ista vanitas apud eos valet, qui ipsi illam allectant et invitant, tamen etiam graviores constantioresque admonendi sunt, ut animadvertant, ne callida assentatione capiantur. Aperte enim adulantem nemo non videt, nisi qui admodum est excors; callidus ille et occultus ne se insinuet, studiose cavendum est; nec enim facillime agnoscitur, quippe qui etiam adversando saepe assentetur et litigare se simulans blandiatur atque ad extremum det manus vincique se patiatur, ut is, qui illusus sit,

plus vidisse videatur. Quid autem turpius quam illudi? Quod ut ne accidat, magis cavendum est.

> Ut me hódie ante omnes cómicos stultós senes
> Versáris atque inlússeris lautíssume.

100. Haec enim etiam in fabulis stultissima persona est improvidorum et credulorum senum. Sed nescio quo pacto ab amicitiis perfectorum hominum, id est sapientium (de hac dico sapientia, quae videtur in hominem cadere posse), ad leves amicitias defluxit oratio. Quam ob rem ad illa prima redeamus eaque ipsa concludamus aliquando.

XXVII. Virtus, virtus, inquam, C. Fanni, et tu, Q. Muci, et conciliat amicitias et conservat. In ea est enim convenientia rerum, in ea stabilitas, in ea constantia; quae cum se extulit et ostendit suum lumen et idem aspexit adgnovitque in alio, ad id se admovet vicissimque accipit illud, quod in altero est; ex quo exardescit sive amor sive amicitia; utrumque enim dictum est ab amando; amare autem nihil est aliud nisi eum ipsum diligere, quem ames, nulla indigentia, nulla utilitate quaesita; quae tamen ipsa efflorescit ex amicitia, etiamsi tu eam minus secutus sis. **101.** Hac nos adulescentes benevolentia senes illos, L. Paulum, M. Catonem, C. Galum, P. Nasicam, Ti. Gracchum, Scipionis nostri socerum, dileximus, haec etiam magis elucet inter aequales, ut inter me et Scipionem, L. Furium, P. Rupilium, Sp. Mummium. Vicissim autem senes in adulescentium caritate acquiescimus, ut in vestra, ut in Q. Tuberonis; equidem etiam admodum adulescentis P. Rutili, A. Vergini familiaritate delector. Quoniamque ita ratio compa-

rata est vitae naturaeque nostrae, ut alia ex alia aetas oriatur, maxime quidem optandum est, ut cum aequalibus possis, quibuscum tamquam e carceribus emissus sis, cum isdem ad calcem, ut dicitur, pervenire. **102**. Sed quoniam res humanae fragiles caducaeque sunt, semper aliqui anquirendi sunt, quos diligamus et a quibus diligamur; caritate enim benevolentiaque sublata omnis est e vita sublata iucunditas. Mihi quidem Scipio, quamquam est subito ereptus, vivit tamen semperque vivet; virtutem enim amavi illius viri, quae exstincta non est; nec mihi soli versatur ante oculos, qui illam semper in manibus habui, sed etiam posteris erit clara et insignis. Nemo umquam animo aut spe maiora suscipiet, qui sibi non illius memoriam atque imaginem proponendam putet. **103**. Equidem ex omnibus rebus, quas mihi aut fortuna aut natura tribuit, nihil habeo, quod cum amicitia Scipionis possim comparare. In hac mihi de re publica consensus, in hac rerum privatarum consilium, in eadem requies plena oblectationis fuit. Numquam illum ne minima quidem re offendi, quod quidem senserim, nihil audivi ex eo ipse, quod nollem; una domus erat, idem victus, isque communis, neque solum militia, sed etiam peregrinationes rusticationesque communes. **104**. Nam quid ego de studiis dicam cognoscendi semper aliquid atque discendi? in quibus remoti ab oculis populi omne otiosum tempus contrivimus. Quarum rerum recordatio et memoria si una cum illo occidisset, desiderium coniunctissimi atque amantissimi viri ferre nullo modo possem. Sed nec illa exstincta sunt aluntur que potius et augentur cogitatione et memoria mea, et, si

illis plane orbatus essem, magnum tamen affert mihi aetas ipsa solacium. Diutius enim iam in hoc desiderio esse non possum. Omnia autem brevia tolerabilia esse debent, etiamsi magna sunt.

Haec habui de amicitia quae dicerem. Vos autem hortor, ut ita virtutem locetis, sine qua amicitia esse non potest, ut ea excepta nihil amicitia praestabilius putetis.

NOTES

CHAPTER I.

Dedication to Atticus

1. 1.[1] **Q. Mucius**: see Introd. § 4, *b*.

Laelio: see Introd. § 4, *a*.

2. **memoriter**: not *from memory*, but *with accurate memory*.

iucunde: *i.e.* entertainingly.

4. **ita**: explained by the following purpose clause, *ut . . . discederem*.

deductus ad Scaevolam: upon assuming the *toga virilis* it was customary for a young Roman to attach himself for a year or more to some eminent general or jurist, for the purpose of professional training in arms or in the law. This period was called *tirocinium* ('apprenticeship').

sumpta virili toga: with the completion of the sixteenth year, as a rule, the Roman boy laid aside the *toga praetexta* or purple bordered toga and assumed the plain unbordered toga of manhood (*toga virilis*). The formal assumption of the *toga virilis* took place at the festival of the *Liberalia*, which was celebrated annually on the 17th of March. In this ceremony all young men who had completed their sixteenth year within the preceding twelvemonth were competent to participate. It thus often happened that a youth was nearly seventeen years of age before putting on the badge of manhood. This would be true, for instance, of all boys born in the last two weeks of March.

Note that *virili toga* instead of *toga virili* brings out a stronger contrast with the *toga praetexta* of boyhood. Cf. p. 15, l. 17,

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[1] The numerical references in the notes are to page and line of the text.

praetexta toga; p. 9, l. 32, *prosperis rebus;* p. 10, l. 14, *secundas res.*

5. **ut numquam discederem**: ordinarily in Latin we find *ne umquam, ne usquam, ne ullus,* etc., in the sense 'in order that never,' 'in order that nowhere,' etc. But here *numquam discederem* seems to be used by a species of litotes in the sense, 'be always near'; hence *ut . . . numquam* instead of *ne . . . umquam.*

quoad possem et liceret: the subjunctive is due to attraction; *liceret* seems to imply that Scaevola's advanced age rendered Cicero's privileges of uncertain duration.

7. **commode**: *happily.*

8. **prudentia**: in the sense of *iuris prudentia,* as frequently.

9. **pontificem Scaevolam**: his full name was identical with that of the augur. He was chosen consul in 95 B.C. and was subsequently made Pontifex Maximus. He lost his life in the Marian proscription of 82 B.C. As a jurist he was justly held in high esteem. Observe that *pontificem* precedes *Scaevolam* for the purpose of bringing out more fully the contrast with Scaevola the augur.

quem unum praestantissimum: *unus* is frequently thus used to intensify the superlative.

10. **iustitia**: *i.e.* sense of justice.

13. **Cum . . . tum**: *while . . . yet especially.*

multa: understand in sense *memini dicere; saepe multa* is pleonastic; cf. p. 12, l. 9, *saepissime solet.* Note further that *multa* here = *multa alia;* so in Cato Maior, § 82, *multos praestantes viros.*

15. **admodum**: with *pauci;* the adverb receives greater emphasis by being placed after the word which it modifies. Cf. p. 7, l. 25, *gratum admodum;* p. 23, l. 17, *nulli prorsus.*

eum sermonem: *talk on that subject;* cf. p. 34, l. 27, *illam admirationem,* 'admiration of that.'

16. **incidere**: *memini* when referring to *personal experience* often takes the present infinitive where the English idiom would lead us to expect the perfect. Cf. Cato Maior, § 30, *Ego L. Metellum memini ita bonis esse viribus.*

17. **Attice**: see Introd. § 2.

P. Sulpicio utebare multum: *you were very intimate with Publius Sulpicius.* Publius Sulpicius Rufus (124–88 B.C.) was

originally an ardent aristocrat, but subsequently became a supporter of Marius. As tribune of the plebs he introduced and secured the passage of a measure whereby Marius was invested with the conduct of the Mithridatic War. This legislation, however, cost him his life at the hands of Sulla.

19. **Q. Pompeio**: one of the consuls for the year 88 B.C. He vigorously opposed the law introduced by Sulpicius.

20. **quanta esset**: note the secondary sequence, occasioned probably by the intervening secondary tenses: *erat*, *dissideret*, *vixerat*.

2. 1. **admiratio**: *amazement.*

querela: *regret.*

2. **eam ipsam mentionem**: *mention of that very thing.* Cf. above, p. 1, l. 15, *in eum sermonem.*

4. **C. Fannio**: see Introd. § 4, *c.*

5. **Africani**: the younger Scipio, destroyer of Carthage. See Introd. § 5. His death occurred in 129 B.C.

6. **sententias**: *i.e.* the chief points.

hoc libro: Cicero frequently omits *in* with *hoc libro*, *his libris.*

7. **arbitratu meo**: *i.e.* freely.

quasi: with *ipsos*, — *in person, as it were.*

9. **tamquam**: used in the same sense as *quasi* above in line 7.

coram: this merely strengthens the phrase *a praesentibus.*

11. **mecum ageres**: *i.e.* urged me; *agere cum aliquo* was technically used of a magistrate who brought public business before the Senate or the people for action.

13. **nostra familiaritate**: see Introd. § 2.

feci ut prodessem: hardly more than a periphrasis for the simple *profui.* Cicero is somewhat fond of this style of expression. Cf. Cato Maior, § 42, *invitus feci ut L. Flamininum e senatu eicerem;* in Vatin. 9. 21, *invitus facio ut recorder.*

15. **Catone Maiore**: Cicero's essay on Old Age, published shortly before the Laelius. The piece took its name from the circumstance that the sentiments are put in the mouth of Cato the Elder (234–149 B.C.).

scriptus ad te: *i.e.* written and sent to you; hence the preposition.

16. **senem**: made emphatic by its separation from *Catonem;*

it gives the cause for Cicero's choice of Cato as the speaker in the de Senectute.

17. **persona**: this word originally designated the mask worn by an actor, then the character corresponding to the mask, then a person of strong personality exhibiting a definite character. Our word 'character' in such expressions as 'Luther was a strong character' is the nearest English equivalent.

de illa aetate: *i.e.* old age.

18. **quam eius**: *than his*, viz. Cato's.

diutissime: Cato was eighty-five years old at his death. If we reckon old age as beginning at sixty, he was a *senex* for twenty-five years.

fuisset, floruisset, etc.: *i.e.* since he had been an old man, and had been conspicuous before others; Subjunctive of Characteristic with accessory notion of cause. In Cato Maior, § 8, Cato is said to have been conspicuous for 'influence, wealth, and station.'

19. **accepissemus**: *i.e.* by tradition.

20. **maxime memorabilem**: adjectives in *-bilis* rarely admit terminational comparison.

21. **P. Scipionis**: referred to above in l. 5, as Africanus. For his relations to Laelius, see Introd. § 5.

22. **dissereret, disputata**: the change from *disserere* to *disputare* is necessitated by the lack of a participle *dissertus*; *disputatus* supplies its place.

23. **Genus hoc sermonum**: *talks of this kind*. The figure is known as hypallage.

24. **hominum veterum**: *men of old*, not *old men*.

25. **et eorum**: *and those, too*.

nescio quo pacto: *somehow*, as frequently.

27. **Catonem**: *i.e.* in the Cato Maior.

28. **ad senem senex de senectute, ad amicum amicissimus de amicitia**: the Latin often exhibits this fondness for putting side by side words that are etymologically related; cf. p. 11, l. 31, *iustitiam iustissimo*. Cicero was sixty-two years old when he wrote the essay on Old Age.

30. **nemo senior temporibus illis**: the conversation of the de Senectute is represented as taking place the year before Cato's death.

31. **prudentior**: *wiser*, *i.e.* in the sense of practical wisdom.

32. **sapiens**: with special reference to Laelius's fondness for philosophy.

8. 1. **velim avertas**: *velim* is simply a softened *volo; avertas* is logically the object of *velim*. For the absence of *ut* (regular after *velim*, *vellem* in this use) see A. & G.[1] 331, *f*, Rem.; B. 296, 1, *a*; G. 532, Rem. 3; H. 499, 2.

6. **te ipse cognosces**: as usual, the intensive is joined with the subject, instead of agreeing with the reflexive.

CHAPTERS II.-IV.

Introductory. — *Scaevola and Fannius coming to the house of Laelius just after Scipio's death, mention the public interest in Laelius's bereavement. Laelius answers that, while his grief is profound, it is tempered by the reflection that Scipio in his life had realized the fullest measure of human success, and that in death he had attained immortality. Another solace is the recollection of their friendship. This is his most precious memory. Men may praise his wisdom; but that gives him slight satisfaction as compared with the hope he cherishes that the friendship of himself and Scipio will be immortal. — The mention of friendship leads Fannius and Scaevola to request that Laelius will set forth his views on this subject.*

7. **Sunt ista**: *what you say is true;* Fannius's words imply that Laelius had just made some remark in praise of Africanus.

8. **existimare**: *i.e.* to consider, bear in mind.

9. **oculos in te coniectos**: *i.e.* to see how you bear his death.

11. **hoc**: *i.e.* reputation for wisdom (*sapientia*).

modo: Cato had died in 149 B.C., twenty years before the dramatic date of the Laelius.

L. Acilium: L. Acilius was an older contemporary of Cato. Cicero (de Legibus, II, 23, 59) mentions his commentary on the Twelve Tables.

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[1] A. & G. = Allen & Greenough's Latin Grammar; B. = Bennett; G. = Gildersleeve; H. = Harkness.

12. **alio quodam modo**: see below on l. 18.

14. **multarum rerum usum**: Cato's experience had been remarkably wide. He had been farmer, soldier, lawyer, orator, and man of affairs, while in his later life he had turned his attention to writing.

15. **provisa prudenter, acta constanter, responsa acute**: these expressions cover the three most salient points in Cato's character: foresight, stubbornness, and ready wit; *responsa*, however, may mean replies given as jurisconsult to his clients.

16. **ferebantur**: *were current.*

17. **quasi cognomen sapientis**: *the quasi-cognomen of 'Sapiens'; quasi* implies that *Sapiens*, though often applied to Cato, was not a formal part of his name; *sapientis* is an Appositional Genitive.

iam: to be taken with *in senectute.* This separation of words that naturally belong together is often resorted to for the purposes of emphasis. The technical name of the figure is trajectio. Other instances in the Laelius are p. 12, l. 5, *qua me ratione*, p. 33, l. 12, *tum se denique;* p. 34, l. 16, *aliquis nos deus.* The separating word is often a pronoun, as in the examples cited.

18. **te . . . esse sapientem**: these words depend in sense upon *existimant* to be supplied from *hanc esse sapientiam existimant* below. Owing to the intervening modifiers, the sentence is not completed as begun (anacoluthon).

alio quodam modo: *in a somewhat different way; quidam* is thus frequently used with adjectives to soften or, at times, to intensify their force. In such cases its exact force must be determined by the context.

19. **natura et moribus**, etc.: Cato's *sapientia* was the result of natural gifts, and association with men; Laelius's had come from study.

20. **vulgus**: people in general as opposed to *eruditi*, 'scholars.' The former naturally employed the word *sapiens* somewhat loosely; the latter used it in the more technical sense of 'learned in philosophy.'

21. **in reliqua Graecia**: *i.e.* as opposed to Athens (*Athenis*).

22. **neminem, unum**: the asyndeton heightens the antithesis; *fuisse* is to be supplied as the object of *accepimus.*

septem: sc. *sapientes*, — The Seven Wise Men: Thales, Solon, Bias, Chilon, Cleobūlus, Pittacus, Periander. They lived about 600 B.C. Few of these were distinguished for learning and erudition, but rather for their strong sense in practical affairs.

23. **qui quaerunt**: the antecedent of *qui* is the subject of *habent*.

25. **etiam Apollinis oraculo**: *i.e.* by the oracle of Apollo as well as by the judgment of his fellow-citizens.

sapientissimum iudicatum (esse): the oracle ran:

> *Σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερος δ' Εὐριπίδης,*
> *Ἀνδρῶν δὲ πάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος.*

26. **hanc sapientiam**: explained by the following *ut*-clause.

27. **omnia tua**: according to the Stoic doctrine of *αὐτάρκεια* ('self-sufficiency') each man is to seek his highest satisfaction from within, not from without.

29. **hoc Scaevola**: *Scaevola here.*

30. **Nonis**: the regular day of meeting for the college of augurs.

31. **D. Bruti**: consul 138 B.C.; he celebrated a triumph in honor of his successes in Spain.

commentandi causa: *for the purpose of deliberation*, *i.e.* in connection with the auspices.

32. **ut assolet**: *assolet* is used especially of fixed and stated customs or ceremonials.

venissemus: as subject understand the augurs.

qui solitus esses: *though you were wont.* Clause of Characteristic with the accessory notion of opposition ('though').

diligentissime: *i.e.* regularly.

4. 3. **C. Laeli**: in familiar address the *praenomen* is not regularly employed. It occurs again, however, in this dialogue in § 100, *C. Fanni et tu, Q. Muci.*

animum adverti: = *animadverti.*

5. **cum . . . tum**: *both . . . and.*

6. **moderate**: *i.e.* not giving way to excessive demonstration of sorrow, but with Stoic resignation.

nec potuisse non commoveri: *and yet that you could not fail to be deeply affected; nec* has an adversative force.

7. **id**: viz. *non commoveri.*

humanitatis tuae: (*characteristic*) *of your human sympathy.*

8. **quod . . . non adfuisses**: *as to your absence from our college on the Nones;* the clause *quod adfuisses* is put in the subjunctive merely in consequence of the indirect discourse. The direct statement would have been *quod non adfuisti, valetudo erat causa*, 'as to the fact that you were not present,' etc.

9. **valetudinem**: unless accompanied by *bona* or some such word, *valetudo* rarely means 'good health.'

11. **Recte tu quidem**: sc. *dicis; quidem* belongs with both *recte* and *tu*.

13. **incommodo meo**: alluding to his grief at the loss of his friend.

nec ullo: Latin regularly prefers *nec ullus* to *et nullus*.

14. **hoc**: explained by the clause *ut . . . fiat*.

constanti homini: *i.e.* a man of strength of character.

16. **quod dicis**: *in saying, in that you say*.

nec agnosco: *i.e.* do not recognize as my due.

17. **ut videris**: English employs the impersonal construction here.

18. **nemo**: sc. *sapiens fuit*. The wise man was simply an ideal never realized in actual experience.

19. **quod quidem**: the antecedent of *quod* is the entire thought, *nemo sapiens fuit*.

20. **ut alia omittam**: not the purpose of *tulit*, but of something to be supplied.

mortem fili: Cato's son, Marcus Porcius Cato, had served in the Macedonian campaign of Paulus, and had married Paulus's daughter. He died when praetor elect in 152 B.C. Cf. the allusion to this event in Cato Maior, § 84.

21. **memineram, videram**: supply in sense *mortes filiorum ferre* from the preceding sentence.

Paulum: Lucius Aemilius Paulus, the conqueror of King Perseus at Pydna in 168 B.C.

Galum: Gaius Sulpicius Galus was eminent as an astronomer. He served under Paulus in the campaign against Perseus, and by his timely prediction of an eclipse of the moon saved the Roman army from panic. In 166 B.C. he filled the office of consul.

sed hi: sc. *talem casum tulerunt*.

in pueris: *in the case of boys;* two sons of Paulus, aged respec-

tively twelve and fourteen, died, the one five days before his father's triumph, the other three days after it.

22. **perfecto et spectato viro**: *perfectus* is here used in the sense of 'mature,' 'developed,' as opposed to *puer; spectatus* means that the young Cato had won approval as a soldier and a citizen.

23. **cave Catoni**, etc.: *don't put even that man before Cato;* on the origin of *cave* as the equivalent of *cave ne*, see B. 305, 2. Both idioms are more colloquial than *noli* with the infinitive. On *ne . . . quidem* used to intensify a preceding negative (in this instance *cave anteponas*), see A. & G. 209, *a*, 1; B. 347, 2; G. 445; H. 553, 2.

24. **huius, illius**: *huius* refers to Cato as the nearer in thought, *illius* to Socrates.

26. **cum utroque**: up to this point Laelius has been replying to Scaevola and Fannius separately. He now addresses his remarks to both.

sic habetote: *sic* refers to what follows. The expression belongs to the language of familiar discourse.

28. **quam id recte faciam, viderint sapientes**: *let the philosophers see how properly I do that*, *i.e.* let them say, if they will, that such an attitude is the proper one; *viderint* is in the perfect subjunctive. Cf. de Re Publica, VI. 23. 25, *quid de te alii loquantur, ipsi videant.* Under *sapientes* one must here understand philosophers of the Stoic school. These held that the *sapiens* (the ideal wise man) ought to be free from all emotion and passion. The technical Greek name for this attitude was ἀπάθεια.

sed: *i.e.* whatever views these may hold.

29. **Moveor**: sc. *desiderio.*

31. **me ipse consolor**: see note on p. 3, l. 6, *te ipse cognosces.*

32. **illo solacio**: explained by the following *quod*-clause.

eo errore: viz. that death is an evil.

5. 3. **suis incommodis**: *suus*, as often, is here used in the general sense of 'one's own.'

4. **amantis est**: *is characteristic of one who loves.*

cum illo . . . actum esse praeclare: *that his fortune was a glorious one.* Cf. de lege agraria, III. 2. 8, *agi secum praeclare.*

5. **Nisi . . . vellet**: *for unless he should have wished to desire immortal life; vellet* does not here denote something contrary to

fact, but is simply *velit* ('if he should wish') transferred to past time. This use, except in indirect discourse, is extremely rare. Another instance is pro Sestio 21. 47, *sin essent victi boni*, 'if it should have turned out that the good were defeated.'

6. **quod ille minime putabat**: *a thought he was far from cherishing;* the antecedent of *quod* is the thought implied in *immortalitatem optare vellet.*

immortalitatem: *i.e.* immortal life on earth.

7. **quod esset**: Subjunctive of Characteristic.

8. **iam**: with *habuerant;* cf. above, p. 3, l. 17.

9. **continuo adulescens**: *i.e.* immediately upon reaching manhood. Scipio was only seventeen years of age when he served his first campaign under his father, Lucius Aemilius Paulus, in Macedonia.

10. **consulatum petivit numquam**: ordinarily the most active sort of canvassing was necessary to win the consulship. Notice the emphatic position of *numquam.*

factus consul est bis: Scipio was consul in 147 and 134 B.C.

11. **primum ante tempus**: *i.e.* before the legal age. Scipio was only thirty-eight years of age at the time of his first consulship, while the statutory age for this office was forty-three.

sibi . . . rei publicae: *as regards himself . . . as regards the state;* Dative of Reference.

12. **suo tempore**: *i.e.* he was now of the legal age. He was actually much older (fifty-one).

rei publicae paene sero: at the time when Scipio took command, the siege of Numantia had already lasted eight years, and the Romans had suffered serious losses.

duabus urbibus eversis inimicissimis: the reference is to Carthage and Numantia. The former of these was destroyed in 146 B.C., the latter in 133 after a long siege.

14. **futura bella**: *i.e.* with these cities.

delevit: *put an end to.*

Quid dicam, etc.: *i.e.* how can I fittingly characterize his merits!

15. **moribus facillimis**: we also speak of 'easy manners.'

pietate in matrem, liberalitate in sorores: Scipio's mother, Papiria, had been divorced by Paulus. Scipio generously provided

for her support, and even transferred to her the inheritance he had received from his adoptive grandmother, Aemilia, wife of the elder Scipio. After Papiria's death Scipio bestowed the same property upon his two sisters.

16. **in suos**: *i.e.* his relatives and friends in general.

17. **maerore funeris**: *i.e.* the grief displayed in connection with his funeral. For this extension in the use of the Objective Genitive, see B. App.[1] § 321; cf. Cato Maior, § 1, *quarum consolatio*.

18. **quid . . . potuisset**: the protasis to this apodosis is implied in *paucorum annorum accessio*, = 'if a few years more had been added.' Scipio died in 129 B.C. at the age of fifty-six.

20. **memini disserere**: for the present infinitive, see note on p. 1, l. 16.

Catonem anno ante, quam est mortuus: Cato's discourse on old age in the Cato Maior is represented as taking place in 150 B.C.

23. **nunc**: Scipio's recent death makes this word appropriate.

vita quidem: *quidem* serves to heighten the antithesis between *vita* and *moriendi*.

24. **vel fortuna vel gloria**: *in point of fortune or of glory;* Ablative of Specification.

25. **moriendi**: to be taken with *celeritas* as well as with *sensum*. With *moriendi sensum*, cf. Cato Maior, § 74, *sensus moriendi aliquis esse potest*.

quo de genere mortis: *concerning a death of this kind;* cf. note on p. 2, l. 23, *genus hoc sermonum*.

26. **quid homines suspicentur**: for the suspicious circumstances of Scipio's death see Introd. § 5.

27. **vere dicere**: as opposed to *suspicentur*.

28. **celeberrimos laetissimosque**: in English we should put these with the antecedent, but in Latin such superlatives have a fondness for the relative clause.

30. **reductus est**: the technical term for the formal escort of a distinguished citizen from the Senate or the Forum to his residence. On the occasion referred to, Scipio had specially commended himself to the conservative element by his sturdy opposition to the

[1] Appendix to Bennett's Latin Grammar.

agrarian projects of the Gracchan party headed by C. Gracchus, Flaccus, and Carbo.

31. **populo Romano**: of course only by those whose sympathies were aristocratic.

32. **sociis et Latinis**: the interests of these were specially threatened by the agrarian legislation of Gracchus. The phrase *sociis et Latinis* taken together forms the third member in Cicero's enumeration, as shown by the fact that *et* is not used between the last two members of an enumeration unless between all the other members. Cicero accordingly means 'the allies and (particularly) the Latins,' these last being an important element of the *socii.*

ut . . . pervenisse: *i.e.* Scipio seems to have become deified rather than to have descended to the lower world in accordance with the lot of ordinary mortals.

6. 1. **ad superos . . . deos**: *to heaven,* (*i.e.*) *to the gods; deos,* as being in a kind of explanatory apposition to *superos,* is purposely separated from it.

2. **ad inferos**: supply in sense *Manes,* 'to the lower world.'

3. **eis, qui haec**, etc.: *those who have recently begun to set forth this doctrine; haec* is explained by the following infinitives, *interire* and *deleri.* The reference is to the Epicureans, whose doctrines had only recently begun to be expounded at Rome.

6. **nostrorum maiorum**: *our own ancestors; nostrorum* is placed before *maiorum* in order to bring out more clearly the antithesis between Roman and Greek opinion on the subject referred to. Cf. p. 8, l. 15, *nostri maiores.*

7. **tam religiosa iura**: *i.e. so* scrupulous as is familiar to all. These rites consisted not merely in the celebration of funeral obsequies, but also in annual libations on the anniversary of the day of death.

8. **nihil ad eos pertinere**: *that they did not affect them at all;* as subject of the infinitive understand *iura; nihil* is an adverbial accusative developed from the 'Accusative of Result' (Internal Object); cf. de lege agraria, II, 31, 85, *cum* (*ager*) *ad vos pertineat nihil.*

arbitrarentur: this strictly refers to the past and we should naturally have expected the pluperfect, but in past conditions contrary to fact the imperfect is often used to denote continued action.

9. **eorum qui in hac terra**, etc.: the reference is to the Pythagorean school, the seat of which was at Crotona in southern Italy. According to Cato Maior, § 78, its representatives had at one time been designated 'Italic philosophers.'

10. **nunc quidem**: *now, to be sure.* Magna Graecia (southern Italy) came under Roman dominion with the fall of the Tarentine confederacy at the close of the war with Pyrrhus, 275 B.C.

tum florebat: *but then flourished;* adversative asyndeton.

institutis: *principles, doctrines,* especially new principles; *praecepta* are directions for the practical application of the *instituta.*

12. **qui non tum hoc**: as verb supply in thought some such word as *dicebat.* See Critical Appendix.

13. **idem**: explained by the following infinitives.

animos esse divinos: an enumeration of the arguments in favor of the soul's immortality is given in Cato Maior, § 77 f. Note that in speaking of 'the soul,' 'the body,' the Romans more often used the plural (*animi, corpora*), souls and bodies being thought of individually. So again below, l. 21, *de immortalitate animorum.* Latin, however, at times admits the singular, *e.g.* in the very next clause, *cum ex corpore excessissent.* In Cato Maior, § 80, we find both numbers in the same sentence: *mihi quidem numquam persuaderi potuit animos, dum in corporibus essent mortalibus vivere . . . nec vero tum animum esse insipientem, cum ex insipienti corpore evasisset.*

15. **reditum in caelum**: prepositional phrases are admissible with verbal nouns in consequence of the verbal idea which these contain. B. 353. 5. N.

optimoque . . . expeditissimum: *i.e.* the better the man, the easier his return to the skies. Cf. Cato Maior, § 83, *Quid, quod sapientissimus quisque aequissimo animo moritur, stultissimus iniquissimo!*

17. **quasi praesagiret**: *as though he had a presentiment of the truth; praesagiret* is used absolutely.

18. **Philus**: L. Furius Philus, a member of the Scipionic circle; he was distinguished for his familiarity with Greek culture.

Manilius: distinguished for his attainments in jurisprudence.

adesset: with two singular subjects connected by disjunctive *et . . . et,* the verb regularly stands in the singular.

20. **disseruit de re publica**: the alleged conversation forms the theme of Cicero's de Re Publica, composed in 54 B.C. and published in 51. Not more than a third of this work is extant, and even this has come down to us in an extremely fragmentary condition.

disputationis: see note on p. 2, l. 22, *dissereret*, *disputata*.

21. **extremum fere**: *almost the very end;* the reference is to the concluding portion of Book VI, of which the part containing the dream is preserved. This is known as the Somnium Scipionis, and represents the younger Scipio setting forth the doctrine of the future life as delivered to him in a dream by his grandfather, the elder Scipio. Note that *fere* very frequently follows the word which it modifies; in some combinations this is regularly the case, *e.g.* in *omnes fere* followed by a substantive.

quae . . . dicebat: the antecedent of *quae* is implied in the preceding clause, *truths which he said he had heard.* Cf. Cato Maior, § 7, *interfui querelis quae deplorare solebant.*

22. **in quiete per visum**: the English *in a dream* conveys both ideas.

Africano: the elder Scipio.

23. **Id**: further explained by the *ut*-clause.

optimi cuiusque: see note above on l. 15, *optimoque et iustissimo cuique.*

25. **censemus**: less distant in tone than the second person (*censetis*) would have been; cf. similarly p. 11, l. 16, *arbitramur.*

cursum ad deos: see note above on l. 15, *reditum in caelum.*

26. **hoc eius eventu**: *at this which has happened to him.*

27. **ne sit**: the subject of *sit* is *maerere.*

invidi . . . amici: in English we should use the abstract *envy . . . friendship.*

illa veriora: understand *sunt.* The forms of *esse* are frequently omitted in short phrases, particularly with pronominal subjects; *illa*, referring to the Epicurean doctrine of the soul mentioned at the beginning of Chapter IV, is further explained by the appositional clause *ut . . . sit.*

28. **ut idem interitus**, etc.: *that there is the same destruction of the soul as of the body.*

nec ullus: see note on p. 4, l. 13.

29. **sensus**: *i.e.* consciousness.

ut . . . sic: *just as . . . so*, or *though . . . yet.*

30. **sensu amisso**: the Ablative Absolute has conditional force.

idem quasi: unusual for *idem ac si.*

quasi natus esset: as subject understand *is* referring to Scipio; clauses of conditional comparison introduced by *quasi*, etc., regularly conform to the principles for the sequence of tenses; hence here we should have expected *quasi natus sit*, but the imperfect and pluperfect may be used in such clauses when, as in the present case, the writer wishes to emphasize the unreal character of the hypothesis.

32. **gaudemus, laetabitur**: *gaudere* denotes the feeling, *laetari* its manifestation.

7. 1. **supra**: viz. p. 5, l. 4 ff.

2. **actum optime est**: see note on p. 5, l. 5, *actum esse praeclare.*

incommodius: the comparative has the force of *somewhat, rather.*

quem fuerat aequius, etc.: *for it had been fitter that I*, etc.; just as *aequum est* is regularly used in the sense of *aequum sit* (A. & G. 311, *c*; B. 271, 1, *b*; G. 254, R. 1), so *aequum erat, fuerat*, may take the place of the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive.

3. **introieram**: understand *in vitam.*

5. **videar**: *i.e. mihi videar.*

quia cum Scipione vixerim: in causal clauses introduced by *quod, quia*, and denoting the reason of the speaker, the indicative is ordinarily used, but the subjunctive is sometimes used to emphasize the circumstance *as a motive.*

quocum mihi coniuncta est: *with whom I shared; mihi* is Dative of Agent.

6. **de publica re**: *publica* is placed before its substantive to heighten the antithesis with *privata*. Cf. p. 6, l. 6, *nostrorum maiorum.*

7. **domus**: not that they occupied the same dwelling, but shared each other's homes.

militia: Laelius had been *legatus* under Scipio in the war against Carthage.

8. **omnis vis amicitiae**: *the whole essence of friendship.*

voluntatum, studiorum, sententiarum: *tastes, ambitions, and convictions; sententiae* refers especially to fundamental views of life and conduct.

10. **modo**: viz. p. 3, l. 10.

11. **falsa praesertim**: with causal force,—*especially as it is unfounded.*

quod spero: lit. *the fact that I hope;* but it is better, in view of the correlative *fama,* to render: 'the hope that.'

12. **idque**: *i.e.* this reflection.

13. **magis est cordi**: *is the more gratifying; cordi* is Dative of Purpose.

14. **tria aut quattuor paria**: *three or four pairs*, viz. Theseus and Pirithous, Orestes and Pylades, Achilles and Patroclus, Damon and Phintias (Pythias).

15. **sperare videor**: *I flatter myself with the hope.*

Scipionis et Laeli: made emphatic by being placed before the governing word.

17. **istuc . . . ita**: *ita* is here pleonastic, as occasionally elsewhere.

19. **feceris, si disputaris**: the use of the future perfect in both members of a conditional sentence indicates the two acts as contemporaneous; G. 244, Rem. 4.

20. **ceteris rebus**: *i.e.* other as opposed to *amicitia.* Cf. p. 3, l. 21, *in reliqua Graecia.*

21. **quid sentias**, etc.: according to Reid, *quid sentias* is general and is further explained by *qualem existimes* and *quae praecepta des.*

23. **atque**: emphatic, — *and in fact.*

24. **cum . . . conarer, Fannius antevortit**: our English idiom inverts these clauses,—*I was on the point of urging this very thing, when Fannius anticipated me.*

tecum agere: see note on p. 2, l. 11.

25. **gratum admodum**: for the position of the adverb, see note on p. 1, l. 15, *pauci admodum.*

CHAPTERS V.-VII. § 24

Laelius pleads that he is unequal to the task suggested by Scaevola and Fannius, and for a systematic discussion of friendship refers the young men to the professional philosophic teachers. For himself, however, he urges them to put friendship before all other earthly things. But the relation, he adds, can subsist only between the good. Between such, friendship has boundless opportunities. Nothing can give more solace than a true friend, whether in prosperity or adversity. All men recognize this too. What applause recently in the theater, when Pacuvius's Dulorestes was brought out! How the audience rose to their feet as Orestes and Pylades each strove to sacrifice his life for the other! 'But this is all I can say; for anything more ask the men of the schools.'

26. **mihi confiderem**: *fido* and *confido* regularly take the Dative of the Person.

27. **praeclara res est et sumus otiosi**: chiastic arrangement.

29. **doctorum**: the emphasis rests upon this word, — *that custom belongs to scholars; doctorum* is predicate genitive.

eaque: *and that, too*, *i.e.* and that especially.

30. **ut eis ponatur**, etc.: explanatory of *ista consuetudo*, *to have a subject set them for discussion; de quo disputent* is a Relative Clause of Purpose. According to Cicero de Fin. II. 1. 1, Gorgias of Leontini (480–375 B.C.), one of the Sophists, instituted this custom.

quamvis subito: *however unexpectedly*.

31. **non parva**: litotes for *magna*.

32. **quae disputari possunt**: referring to Fannius's words in § 16 (p. 7, l. 21), *de amicitia disputaris*. Laelius declines to undertake a philosophical discussion (*disputatio*), and restricts himself to a few practical observations.

8. 1. **ab eis censeo petatis**: *I suggest that you seek from those; censeo* was the technical word used for voting, or making a motion in the Senate; *petatis* (without *ut;* see A. & G. 331, *f*, Rem.; B. 295, 8; H. 499, 2) is a substantive clause and used as the object of *censeo*. Cf. Philippics, II. 37. 95, *meditere censeo;* Pliny, Epistles, VI. 9. 2, *Tu tamen, censeo, alios roges.*

qui ista profitentur: *who make a business of that*, *i.e.* the professional philosophers.

2. **tantum**: *only.*

3. **naturae aptum**: to live 'according to Nature' was one of the most fundamental doctrines of the Stoic creed. Cf. Cato Maior, § 5, *in hoc sumus sapientes, quod naturam optimam ducem tamquam deum sequimur eique paremus.* Cf. below, p. 8, l. 25, *quia sequantur naturam optimam bene vivendi ducem.* As a Stoic, Laelius naturally approves this ideal.

4. **tam conveniens**: *i.e.* nothing that accords so well.

5. **Sed hoc primum sentio**: *but this is my first thought.*

in bonis: *inter bonos* is used in the same sense, p. 27, l. 5.

6. **neque id ad vivum reseco**: lit. *nor do I cut that to the quick*, *i.e.* I do not define that (viz. good men) with excessive precision; the figure is taken from the surgeon's art.

7. **illi qui haec subtilius**, etc.: *i.e.* the philosophers.

vere: *i.e.* with justice.

8. **ad communem utilitatem parum**: *with too little reference to the common weal*, *i.e.* such impossible ideals of virtue are inadvisable; *parum* is emphatic, as shown by its position after the clause which it modifies.

negant enim quemquam, etc.: one of the celebrated Stoic paradoxes.

9. **Sit ita sane**: *so be it, then:* for this colloquial use of *sane*, see Lex. 2, *b*, (γ); for the Jussive Subjunctive with the force of a concession, see A. & G. 266, *c*; B. 278; G. 264; H. 484, III.

10. **eam sapientiam interpretantur**, etc.: *they understand by wisdom that which*, etc., lit. *they understand that as wisdom; interpretor* takes two accusatives, direct object and predicate accusative, like verbs of *calling*, *regarding*, etc. Cf. Cato Maior, § 36, *quos ait Caecilius comicos stultos senes, hos significat credulos obliviosos, stultos; eam quam* for *id quod* is attracted to the gender of *sapientiam.*

mortalis nemo: *mortalis* in the sense of *homo* occurs in Cicero only when combined with *nemo*, *multi*, *omnes*, *cuncti.*

11. **in usu vitaque communi**: *in the experience and life of all.*

quae finguntur: *i.e.* mere conceptions of the imagination.

13. **C. Fabricium, M'. Curium, Ti. Coruncanium**: often

alluded to by Cicero as typical representatives of the old Roman virtue. Their names occur in the same order in Cato Maior, § 15. Fabricius was especially conspicuous in the war against Pyrrhus (281–275 B.C.). Curius and Coruncanius were contemporaries of Fabricius, and like him served with distinction in the war against Pyrrhus.

15. **nostri maiores**: *nostri* is placed first for the purpose of contrast; see note on *nostrorum maiorum*, p. 6, l. 6.

istorum: viz. the philosophers *qui haec subtilius disserunt.*

16. **sibi habeant sapientiae nomen**: *i.e.* let them keep to themselves, in the sense that the average man has no wish to avail himself of such philosophical subtleties. As in the similar passage, Cato Maior, § 58, *sibi habeant igitur arma*, etc., the emphasis rests upon *sibi.*

17. **invidiosum**: in consequence of its pretentiousness.

obscurum: as being unintelligible to the average man.

concedant: (*but*) *let them admit;* adversative asyndeton.

19. **Agamus pingui Minerva**: *let us proceed with our dull wit;* the name of Minerva, the tutelary goddess of intellectual pursuits, is here used in a transferred sense for intelligence itself; *pinguis*, originally 'thick,' 'fat,' 'heavy,' is often thus applied to the mind.

ut aiunt: this implies that the expression was a proverbial one. Cf. Cato Maior, § 21, *nec sepulcra legens vereor, quod aiunt, ne memoriam perdant.*

21. **fides integritas, aequitas liberalitas**: these words are to be taken in pairs; the first two represent types of honor, the second two, types of justice.

25. **quia sequantur**: not the speaker's reason, but the reason which is to influence the persons referred to in the subject of *putemus.* Hence the subjunctive.

26. **Sic . . . ita**: *sic* is explained by *natos esse*, etc.; *ita* by the clause *ut esset;* cf. p. 1, l. 4, *ita eram deductus ad Scaevolam, ut numquam discederem.*

28. **societas quaedam**: *a certain fellowship.*

maior ut: *greater* (*in proportion*) *as;* we should have expected *eo maior quo propius.*

29. **accederet**: *i.e.* in social and domestic relations.

30. **alieni**: *i.e.* by blood.

cum his: referring to *propinqui* as nearest in thought, though not last mentioned. Cf. p. 4, l. 24, *huius*.

31. **sed ea**: *ea* refers not simply to *amicitia*, but to *amicitia cum propinquis*.

Namque hoc: *for in this respect*.

32. **ex propinquitate benevolentia tolli potest**, etc.: *i.e.* the element of mutual regard may disappear, and the relation of *propinquitas* still remain, but in case of friendship *benevolentia* is something vital and essential.

9. 1. **ex amicitia non potest**: *but not from friendship;* in such negative antitheses as this the verb is repeated in Latin, often without any conjunction. Cf. Cato Maior, § 83, *videre . . . non videre*.

2. **amicitiae nomen**: the genitive is appositional.

3. **propinquitatis**: sc. *nomen*.

manet: adversative asyndeton.

Quanta vis amicitiae sit, *i.e.* the profound significance of friendship.

4. **ex hoc maxime**: *from this especially*.

5. **ex infinita societate generis humani**, etc.: *i.e.* the relation of friendship has been narrowed from its application to the entire human race in its wide and undefined relationship, so as to apply only to a relationship which exists between two or three; consequently its intensity is correspondingly increased.

6. **ita contracta res est**, etc.: *the relation* (viz. of friendship) *has been so narrowed and confined to such close limits*.

7. **ut iungeretur**: the Latin regularly uses secondary sequence after the present perfect; in English we use primary sequence, — *so that all affection is joined*. In English, too, we should preferably express by a noun the idea contained in *iungeretur*, — *so that the bond of affection subsists only between*, etc.

9. **omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum consensio**: *agreement with regard to all things divine and human*. For this extension in use of the Objective Genitive, cf. note on p. 5, l. 17, *maerore funeris*.

10. **cum benevolentia**: *combined with kind feeling;* the prepositional phrase serves as an attributive modifier of *consensio;* cf. p. 25, l. 3, *sine ulla exceptione communitas*.

11. **haud scio an nihil melius datum sit**: *I am inclined to think nothing better has been given;* in the Ciceronian period *haud scio an* regularly has this force.

15. **Beluarum**: emphatic by position; *est* is to be supplied.

hoc quidem extremum: *this last*, viz. *voluptates*. The singular is used as referring to the *substance* only of what is implied in *voluptates*. Note the chiasmus in *beluarum hoc extremum, illa superiora caduca et incerta; quidem* serves merely to lend emphasis to *hoc*.

16. **posita . . . in**: *dependent . . . upon*.

17. **Qui in virtute summum bonum ponunt**: this was the Stoic view.

18. **praeclare**: sc. *faciunt*.

19. **amicitiam et gignit et continet**: *continet* here means 'maintains'; with the whole expression, cf. p. 39, l. 13, *virtus amicitias et conciliat et conservat*.

20. **Iam**: *to proceed, now*.

21. **ex consuetudine vitae**: *i.e.* in accordance with the familiar standards of actual experience.

sermonisque nostri: *i.e.* the customary significance of the Latin language.

22. **nec metiamur virosque numeremus**: these clauses, though grammatically coördinate with the preceding, are logically subordinate and explanatory,— *not estimating it by the standard of high-sounding definitions, but reckoning*, etc. Note the adversative force of *-que*.

quidam docti: the reference is again to the Stoics.

verborum magnificentia: *i.e.* high-sounding philosophical definitions.

23. **viros bonos eos**: *eos* is direct object, *viros bonos* predicate accusative.

qui habentur: sc. *viri boni*.

24. **Paulos, Catones**, etc.: the generic plural,— *men like Paulus, Cato*, etc. For Paulus and Galus, see p. 4, l. 21; for Philus, p. 6, l. 18; for Cato (the Elder), p. 2, l. 16.

25. **eos qui omnino nusquam reperiuntur**: *i.e.* the ideal good men of the Stoics; with negatives *omnino* usually follows; cf. p. 6, l. 30, *quasi natus non esset omnino*.

26. **Talis igitur**: *igitur* resumes the interruption at p. 8, l. 5, *Sed hoc*.

27. **opportunitates**: *charms;* the abstract noun becomes concrete in the plural.

28. **Principio**: we should naturally expect this to be followed by *deinde* later on, instead of which the second point is introduced by *Cumque*, p. 10, l. 17. Cf. Cato Maior, § 45, *Primum . . .; ego vero . . . quoque*.

qui: *how?*

29. **ut ait Ennius**: the exact source of the quotation is not known. Ennius (239–169 B.C.) was the author of the *Annales* and a writer of tragedies, *saturae*, etc. Only fragments of his works have come down to us.

quae . . . conquiescit: *which finds repose;* we might have expected this clause to stand in the subjunctive, but Clauses of Characteristic which imply a *condition* ('if') regularly stand in the indicative.

30. **quicum**: *quicum* can be used only when the antecedent is general and indefinite; *quocum* refers to a definite antecedent.

32. **prosperis rebus**: for the order see note on p. 1, l. 4, *virili toga*.

10. 1. **aeque ac tu**: *equally with you*.

2. **gravius etiam**: *etiam* receives emphasis by being placed after the word modified; cf. p. 1, l. 15, *pauci admodum*.

4. **fere**: *as a rule*.

5. **utare**: sc. *eis*.

opes: *i.e.* political and social influence, as also Cato Maior, § 8.

6. **valetudo**: here *good health*. Cf. p. 4, l. 9.

8. **verteris**: perfect subjunctive; subordinate clauses expressed by the general second singular stand regularly in the subjunctive.

nullo loco: Ablative of Separation.

10. **ut aiunt**: see note on p. 8, l. 19.

locis pluribus: *i.e.* on more occasions.

11. **de vulgari**: sc. *amicitia*.

mediocri: *i.e.* friendship which ranks between the inferior (*vulgaris*) on the one hand, and the higher (*vera et perfecta*) on the other.

13. **qualis eorum**: sc. *est amicitia*.

eorum, qui pauci nominantur: *i.e.* of the few who are mentioned; cf. p. 7, l. 13, *ex omnibus saeculis vix tria aut quattuor nominantur paria amicorum.*

15. **partiens communicansque**: *i.e.* by sharing what it has.

17. **Cumque**: *and while* (adversative).

18. **tum**: corresponding to *Principio*, p. 9, l. 28. In that passage mention was made of the *present* advantages derived from friendship; here attention is called to its *prospective* blessings.

illa: *the following* (*advantage*); *commoditas* is to be supplied in thought.

praestat omnibus: *is superior to all* (*others*).

19. **quod . . . praelucet**: explanatory of *illa; praelucet* is here transitive,—*sheds the radiance of confident hope before us.*

in posterum: *for the future.*

20. **cadere**: *to languish.*

21. **tamquam**: the 'apologetic' *tamquam; tamquam* and *quasi* are often thus used when the author employs a word or phrase in some bold or unusual figurative sense, where an English writer might have added 'so to speak,' 'if I may employ that term,' or something of the sort.

exemplar aliquod sui: *an image of himself.*

22. **absentes adsunt**: *i.e.* they are present in the persons of their friends who are their *exemplaria.* Note the oxymoron in *absentes adsunt, egentes abundant*, etc.

23. **egentes abundant**: *i.e.* they can avail themselves of the possessions of their friends, according to the Pythagorean maxim: *κοινὰ τὰ τῶν φίλων* ('the goods of friends are common').

difficilius dictu: the thought is inaccurately expressed. Laelius really means *more difficult to believe, i.e.* even more paradoxical than the previous statements.

24. **tantus eos honos**: note the separation of words that grammatically belong together (trajectio); cf. p. 3, l. 17, *iam habebat in senectute.*

25. **amicorum**: *on the part of one's friends;* Subjective Genitive.

Ex quo: and in consequence of this circumstance; the antecedent of *quo* is the previous sentence taken as a whole; so below, p. 11, l. 2.

26. **illorum**: the dead.

beata mors, vita laudabilis: note the chiasmus.

horum: the living, who cherish their memory.

27. **exemeris**: perfect subjunctive. See note on l. 8, above, *verteris*.

ex rerum natura: *from the world, the universe.*

benevolentiae coniunctionem: *i.e.* the unifying influence of *benevolentia.*

29. **agri cultus**: for the usual *agri cultura.*

Id si minus intellegitur: *id* refers to the substance of the preceding sentence, and is further explained by the clause *quanta . . . sit; minus* is here equivalent to *non.*

30. **dissensionibus, discordiis**: the plural denotes repeated instances.

31. **percipi potest**: viz. how great is the power of friendship.

11. 1. **Quae . . . everti**: cf. Sallust, Jugurtha, 10, 6, *concordia parvae res crescunt, discordia maxumae dilabuntur.*

3. **Agrigentinum quendam**: Empedocles, of Agrigentum, who flourished about 440 B.C. Growth and decay were referred by this philosopher to the principles of love and hate (φιλότης, νεῖκος), exerted upon the elements of which things were composed. This theory was set forth in verse in Empedocles's περὶ φύσεως (*de rerum natura*).

quidem: used to call attention to Empedocles as confirming the truth of the foregoing statement.

4. **vaticinatum**: just as *vates*, primarily 'priest,' 'prophetic singer,' came in time to be used in the sense of 'poet,' so *vaticinor* (lit. 'prophesy') is here used of composing poetry.

5. **quae constarent, quaeque moverentur**: *whatever is stable and whatever is in motion; i.e.* the entire sum of things. The repetition of the relative is intended to heighten the antithesis.

6. **contrahere**: *knits together.*

dissipare: *disintegrates.*

7. **hoc quidem**: *i.e.* the general principle just enunciated.

omnes mortales: on *mortales* (= *homines*), see note on p. 8, l. 10.

8. **re probant**: *i.e.* show it to be so by their experience; cf. Cato Maior, § 85, *re experti probare possitis.*

exstitit: *i.e.* is manifested.

11. **clamores**: *i.e.* applause.

cavea: the name *cavea*, lit. *hollow* space, was applied to the sloping tiers of seats in a theater.

hospitis et amici mei: *my dear guest-friend* (Nauck).

12. **M. Pacuvi**: Pacuvius (219–129 B.C.) was one of the two great tragic writers of Rome, his younger contemporary, Accius, being the other. The play of Pacuvius here alluded to is probably the Dulorestes ('Orestes as Captive'), of which only a few fragments are extant. It represented Orestes as having gone with his friend, Pylades, to Tauris by order of the Delphic oracle, to carry off the sacred image of Artemis, and so purify himself of the guilt he had incurred by the murder of his mother, Clytemnestra. The two friends were seized by the Taurians, whose custom was to execute all strangers, and were brought before the king to be put to death. Euripides in his Iphigenia in Tauris had previously treated the same theme.

nuper . . . nova fabula: if *nuper* refers to the immediate past, Pacuvius must have been nearly 90 years old when this play was brought out; but the word is probably loosely used.

ignorante rege: *i.e.* Thoas.

14. **ita ut erat**: *as he (really) was.*

Orestem se esse perseveraret: *stuck to it that he was Orestes.* In de Finibus, V. 22. 63, Cicero cites the passage here referred to:

> PYL. I am Orestes.
> OR. Nay I, I say, am Orestes.
> BOTH. Let us, then, both be put to death.

The construction of the infinitive with subject accusative is unusual with *perseverare*.

15. **Stantes plaudebant**: *i.e.* the audience stood up in their enthusiasm, to give their applause.

in re ficta: *in the case of a myth;* cf. p. 4, l. 21, *in pueris*, 'in the case of children.'

16. **arbitramur**: less distant in tone than the second person (*arbitramini*) would have been; cf. p. 6, l. 25, *censemus.*

17. **Facile**: here almost equivalent in sense to our *involuntarily.*

natura: *i.e.* their natural feeling.

homines: *i.e.* the audience.

18. **non possent**: *i.e.* morally unable.

in altero: here = *in alio.*

20. **Hactenus**: *i.e. only* so far as this.

22. **si videbitur**: *please;* a colloquial phrase, used to soften the force of the imperative.

qui ista disputant: see note on p. 8, l. 1, *qui ista profitentur.*

23. **quaeritote**: the future imperative is the regular tense after a protasis standing in the future indicative.

CHAPTER VII. § 25

Scaevola and Fannius beg Laelius to continue.

24. **Nos autem a te potius**: sc. *quaerimus.*

26. **equidem**: in Cicero this word regularly has the force of *ego quidem.*

filum: *character,* lit. *thread, fibre.*

27. **Tum**: explained by the following *si*-clause.

magis id diceres: *i.e.* you would say so with greater confidence.

28. **de re publica**: see note on p. 6, l. 20.

29. **patronus**: *advocate.*

30. **accuratam orationem Phili**: *Philus's careful argument;* Philus had defended the thesis that injustice is at times a necessity in government.

31. **id quidem**: *quidem* serves merely to emphasize the pronoun, as p. 9, l. 15, *hoc quidem.*

iustitiam iustissimo viro: for the frequent juxtaposition of words etymologically related, cf. p. 2, l. 28, *ad senem senex de senectute.*

12. 1. **amicitiam**: placed first as conveying the important idea; as governing infinitive supply in thought *defendere.*

nonne facile: sc. *erit.*

ob eam servatam: *for having guarded it.*

4. **Vim hoc quidem est afferre**: cf. the words which Caesar is said to have uttered as he was assassinated: *ista quidem vis est.* Suetonius, Iulius, 82.

6. **studiis**: *the eager interest.*

CHAPTERS VIII., IX.

Laelius consents to continue the discussion, and takes up first the grounds of friendship. These are not to be sought in considerations of advantage, but rather in the spontaneous attachment of one soul to another. This attachment often increases from our contemplation of a friend's goodness and character. Friendships formed on this basis are everlasting.

9. **Saepissime . . . maxime**: *i.e.* the oftener I reflect upon the subject of friendship, the more it seems to me, etc.

igitur: *i.e.* since you compel me to continue the discussion.

10. **illud**: explained by the clause, *utrum desiderata sit*, etc.

considerandum: *worthy of consideration.*

propter imbecillitatem, etc.: this was the view of the Epicureans and Cyrenaics.

11. **desiderata sit**: *was felt necessary*, *i.e.* originally, when friendship was first instituted; hence *desiderata sit* is followed by secondary sequence (*ut acciperet*).

12. **meritis**: = *beneficiis.*

quod quisque minus posset: *a power which each did not possess; quod* depends directly upon *posset* as an Accusative of Result Produced.

per se ipse: *by oneself alone;* for the nominative *ipse* (not the accusative), see p. 3, l. 6.

14. **an esset**, etc.: the alternative includes the entire remainder of this sentence, in which *esset hoc quidem*, etc., though grammatically coördinate with the clause *sed antiquior*, etc., is logically subordinate to it, — *or whether, while this* (viz. mutual assistance), *to be sure, was a feature of friendship, there existed* (*i.e. whether there did not exist*) *another cause, one that reached farther back* (antiquior) *and was nobler and emanated rather from nature itself;* with *alia causa*, *esset* is to be supplied.

16. **Amor**: emphatic, — *for 'tis love that prompts to establishing the bond of good will.*

18. **quidem**: *to be sure.*

Nam . . . percipiuntur . . . in amicitia autem, etc.: here again, in spite of the grammatical coördination, the one clause is

logically subordinate to the other, —*for while advantages, to be sure, are often reaped from those who*, etc., *yet in friendship nothing*, etc.

19. **simulatione amicitiae coluntur et observantur temporis causa**: note the chiasmus.

temporis causa: *on account of* (*some present*) *exigency*.

21. **et, quidquid est**: *et* has adversative force.

verum, voluntarium: *verum* is contrasted with *fictum*, *voluntarium* with *simulatum*.

22. **a natura**: the emphasis rests upon this phrase, — *'tis from nature, therefore.*

potius, magis: *potius* excludes the second alternative; *magis* merely restricts its scope.

23. **applicatione**: *as a consequence of the devotion of the heart*; Ablative of Cause.

cum quodam sensu: *combined with a certain feeling*; cf. p. 9, l. 10, *cum benevolentia*; *sensu* is in strong contrast with *cogitatione*, *i.e.* the emotional or moral nature of friendship is asserted as against a purely intellectual origin.

24. **illa res**: not friendship, but the forming of friendships.

25. **Quod quidem quale sit**: *how this is, now*, viz. how it is that friendship springs from a spontaneous impulse and not from deliberate calculation of advantage.

26. **in bestiis quibusdam**: *in the case of certain beasts*; not in the case of all, for some deposit eggs and never know their own offspring.

27. **ex se natos**: *their offspring*.

ad quoddam tempus: viz. till the young can care for themselves; cf. Cic. de Nat. Deo. II, 51, 129, *usque ad finem dum possent se ipsi defendere*.

28. **Quod in homine**: *quod* has the same antecedent as above in line 25.

30. **quae est, quae potest**: when a single antecedent is thus followed by two relative clauses without a connective, the former is merely explanatory or semi-parenthetical in character; cf. Cato Maior, § 59, *in eo libro qui est de tuenda re familiari, qui Oeconomicus inscribitur*. When the two relatives are employed, the former often results from the necessity of avoiding a prepositional

phrase directly limiting a noun. So in the present passage, *the love between parents and children;* similarly in the passage cited from the Cato Maior, *the book on the management of property.* Such prepositional phrases, though extremely common in English, are very sparingly used in Latin. B. 353, 5.

quae dirimi non potest: as opposed to the feelings of animals, which last only for a certain time (*ad quoddam tempus*).

31. **nisi detestabili scelere**: as instances of such crimes, editors cite the treason of Brutus's sons and Orestes's murder of Clytemnestra.

similis sensus: *i.e.* similar to the sentiments existing between parents and children.

32. **si aliquem**: less indefinite than *si quem* would have been.

13. 1. **cuius . . . congruamus**: Clause of Characteristic. The thought is inaccurately expressed. Laelius means: *with whose character and nature ours agree.*

quod . . . videamur: this is the second reason (introduced by *deinde*), corresponding to *ex caritate;* the reason is given as that existing in the mind of the subject of *videamur*, and not as that of the speaker, hence the subjunctive. Cf. p. 8, l. 25, *quia sequantur.*

2. **quasi lumen**: the 'apologetic' *quasi;* see note on *tamquam*, p. 10, l. 21.

4. **quippe cum**: frequently found instead of the simple *cum* (causal).

7. **C. Fabrici, M'. Curi**: see note on p. 8, l. 13. With proper names, asyndeton is regular when the *praenomen* is expressed; so almost invariably with the names of consuls.

8. **usurpet**: *cherish;* lit. *use, exercise.*

quos numquam viderit: *though he has never seen them;* Clause of Characteristic with accessory adversative force. A. & G. 320, *e*; B. 283, 3, *a*.

9. **Sp. Cassium, Sp. Maelium**: in the year 486 B.C. Spurius Cassius, a patrician, then consul for the third time, brought forward the first recorded agrarian law. This roused a suspicion that he was aiming at absolute power, and so led to his condemnation and execution. In 439 B.C. Spurius Maelius, by selling grain at a merely nominal price in a season of great scarcity, incurred

similar suspicion, in consequence of which he was summarily put to death.

11. **in Italia**: to be taken with *est decertatum*.

decertatum: *depugno*, *decerto*, etc., mean 'to fight it out,' 'fight to the end.'

12. **ab altero**: viz. Pyrrhus.

propter probitatem: Pyrrhus treated the Roman captives with great consideration, and even returned them without ransom when Fabricius revealed to him the criminal designs of his own physician.

non nimis alienos animos: *no special aversion*.

13. **propter crudelitatem**: Hannibal's conduct hardly justifies this accusation. He was characterized by generosity and even by chivalry. Cicero, however, in common with the other Roman writers, repeatedly alludes to him as cruel; cf. Cato Maior, § 75; so also often in the Orations.

15. **vel in eis**: *vel* is intensive, not correlative with *vel* before *quod maius*.

17. **in hoste etiam**: *in an enemy even; etiam* gains emphasis by being placed after the words modified.

si . . . moveantur: *if the feelings should be stirred;* we should naturally expect the indicative.

18. **cum videantur**: Subjunctive by Attraction.

eorum: *on the part of those*.

quibuscum . . . possunt: *i.e.* their fellow-citizens.

20. **Quamquam**: corrective, — *and yet* = καίτοι.

21. **studio**: *devotion*.

22. **motum animi et amoris**: there is a hendiadys in the words *animi et amoris*, — *the impulse of the mind toward affection;* the idea in *motum animi* is the same as that expressed by *applicatione animi* above, p. 12, l. 23.

24. **magnitudo**: *intensity*.

25. **ut sit, per quem assequatur**: explanatory of *ab imbecillitate; per quem assequatur* is a Relative Clause of Purpose.

quod desideret: Subjunctive by Attraction.

quisque: *quisque* regularly stands in the relative clause, which, however, more commonly precedes.

26. **minime generosum**: as opposed to the *pulchrior causa* advocated p. 12, l. 15.

ut ita dicam: apologetic, like *tamquam, quasi*; see note on p. 10, l. 21. The word *generosus*, 'of noble birth,' is strictly applicable only to persons; hence the necessity of some qualifying phrase in the present instance.

28. **volunt**: *i.e.* will have it, regard it, as born of helplessness, etc.

Quod si ita esset: *if this were so.*

ut: *according as, in proportion as.*

29. **minimum**: *i.e. minimum virium*, the expression employed p. 19, l. 24.

32. **nullo**: regularly used to supply the missing ablative of *nemo.*

14. 1. **suaque**: the *-que* is here adversative, as in *virosque numeremus*, p. 9, l. 23.

in se ipso posita: *i.e.* depend upon himself; cf. p. 3, l. 26, *ut omnia tua in te posita esse ducas.*

4. **sed ego**: supply *eum dilexi* from *me dilexit* below.

5. **virtutis eius**: one genitive dependent upon another, as in *illius furoris*, p. 16, l. 25.

opinione fortasse non nulla: Laelius, with due modesty, refers to Africanus's sentiment simply as an *opinio*, *i.e.* not a deliberate judgment, but rather an impression, notion; *opinione* is Ablative of Cause.

8. **multae et magnae**: English does not use the conjunction in such cases as this; in Latin the conjunction is regular.

consecutae sunt: used absolutely; *consequor* denotes especially a natural or necessary consequence.

sunt causae profectae: the expression is pleonastic; it is not the causes of love that are denied by Laelius to emanate from hope of advantage, but the love itself; cf. for similar instances of pleonasm Livy, XXXII, 34, 7, *ab illis principium belli ortum est;* Cic. in Cat. IV, 6. 11, *versatur mihi ante oculos aspectus Cethegi.*

11. **exigamus**: the technical expression for calling in a loan.

faeneramur: *i.e.* loan it out like money to be repaid. The suggestion of usury was always invidious to the Roman mind. For a similar characterization of mercenary friendship, cf. de Nat. Deo. I, 122, *quam (= amicitiam) si ad fructum referemus, non erit ista amicitia, sed mercatura quaedam.*

14. **expetendam**: *worthy of being sought;* cf. p. 12, l. 10, *considerandum.*

15. **Ab his**: neuter; = *ab his rebus;* the substantive use of neuter pronouns and adjectives outside of the nominative and accusative cases is confined by Cicero to very narrow limits. Other instances are *similium*, p. 21, l. 9; *de hoc*, p. 1, l. 11. More frequently *res* is used with an adjective or pronoun in agreement, as *ab his rebus, similium rerum, de hac re.*

qui ad voluptatem referunt: the Epicurean ideal, which is here referred to, was not, however, sensual pleasure, as *voluptas* implies, but was the highest attainable spiritual tranquillity, ἀταραξία ('freedom from trouble').

pecudum ritu: cf. *Beluarum hoc quidem extremum*, p. 9, l. 15.

17. **nihil, nihil**: anaphora; so *tam, tam*, l. 19, below.

18. **suspicere**: *look up to* (*with reverence or respect*); only in the perfect participle has this verb the sense of 'suspect'; *suspicere* is here contrasted with *suas cogitationes abiecerunt.*

19. **contemptam**: *contemptible;* the verbal adjective in *-ilis, -bilis* is often lacking and its place taken by the participle; so *acceptus*, 'acceptable'; *invictus*, 'invincible'; *incorruptus*, 'incorruptible.'

20. **hos ab hoc sermone removeamus**: *i.e.* let us leave them out of account in this discussion.

21. **sensum diligendi**: *the impulse to love;* cf. p. 12, l. 24, *sensu amandi.*

22. **benevolentiae caritatem**: cf. *benevolentia et caritate*, p. 9, l. 10; *caritate benevola*, p. 13, l. 7.

facta significatione: *after some evidence has been given.*

23. **Quam qui appetiverunt**: *those who make this their object*, viz. *caritatem benevolentiae.* For the double relative, cf. Cato Maior, § 2, *cui qui pareat*; § 64, *quibus qui splendide usi sunt.*

applicant se et propius admovent: *draw near and attach themselves;* hysteron proteron.

24. **usu et moribus**: *intimacy and character.*

25. **fruantur**: *enjoy* in the sense of *avail themselves of*, not *take pleasure in.*

pares et aequales: an illustration of Cicero's fondness for com-

bining synonyms in pairs; cf. p. 40, l. 26, *cognoscendi atque discendi;* Cato Maior, § 40, *muneri ac dono;* § 34, *officia et munera.*

27. **haec**: by attraction for *hoc.*

28. **et (utilitates) . . . et (erit)**: *on the one hand . . . on the other.*

29. **a natura**: the occurrence of the prepositional phrase modifying a substantive is justified by the verbal force of *ortus.*

quam ab imbecillitate: brachylogy for *quam si ab imbecillitate esset.*

31. **eadem commutata**: *the change of the same* (*utilitas*).

15. 2. **ad haec**: *in reply to this*, sc. *dicere* or *respondere.*

4. **meo iure**: *i.e.* as the elder.

CHAPTERS X.-XV.

Dangers that threaten the perpetuity of friendships.— To what lengths should one go in helping a friend? Ask of others and do for others only what is honorable. This is friendship's first law, and in executing it we should aim not merely to render willing service, but, if possible, to anticipate the needs of our friends. Yet we must give frank counsel too, and not hesitate to chide when occasion demands.

How foolish to find pleasure in public office, in fame, in houses, in luxurious adornments, and not in the affection and regard of our fellow-men, than which heaven has given no sweeter blessing, and without which life is bleak and desolate!

7. **Audite vero**: *listen, then.*

9. **Quamquam**: corrective as p. 13, l. 20, and frequently.

ille quidem: *quidem* serves to contrast *ille* (Scipio) with Laelius, and implies that Laelius's views on this point were not in harmony with Scipio's.

11. **non idem**: these two words are to be taken together.

expediret: *i.e.* for both.

incidere: *incidere* always implies that the occurrence is unexpected.

12. **saepe**: with *mutari*, and further explained by *alias . . . alias.*

13. **alias . . . alias**: adverbs,—*at one time . . . at another time.*

adversis rebus: for the emphatic position of the adjective, cf. p. 1, l. 4, *virili toga;* p. 9, l. 32, *prosperis rebus.*

14. **Atque**: often used, as here, in passing from a general proposition to a particular phase or illustration of the same.

earum rerum exemplum ex similitudine, etc.: *drew an illustration of this principle from the analogy of early youth.*

16. **summi amores**: *deep attachments.*

17. **praetexta toga**: see above on *adversis rebus*, l. 13.

ponerentur: *were laid aside*,—*pono* for *depono;* the choice of *pono* here is probably determined by the allusion to laying aside the *toga praetexta; togam praetextam ponere* is the regular phrase for this.

sin: where *sin* occurs it usually corresponds to a preceding clause with *si;* here there is no such preceding clause, but a condition is really implied in the sentence *quod . . . ponerentur*, which was felt by Laelius as meaning, '*if* there is attachment on the part of boys, it is usually abandoned when they lay aside the *toga praetexta.*'

18. **contentione uxoriae condicionis**: *rivalry for a wife;* for this extension in use of the Objective Genitive, see note on p. 5, l. 17, *maerore funeris*, 'grief displayed at the funeral'; so *honoris contentionem*, l. 22 below; *condicio* (usually without *uxoria*) is common at all periods of the language in the sense of 'match,' 'partner.'

19. **alicuius**: here in the sense of *some other.*

20. **quod**: conjunction.

Quod si: here, *but even if.*

qui: indefinite.

21. **provecti essent, labefactari**: note the change of subject; with *labefactari* understand *eam.*

24. **in optimis quibusque**: this idiom (when persons are referred to) is regularly confined to the singular (*optimo cuique*, etc.); apparently the plural is here used because the reference is to *pairs* of friends.

26. **exstitisse**: *had arisen;* the infinitive (and not the subjunctive) is used because the relative clause is logically coördinate with what precedes, *et quo* being equivalent to *nam ex eo.*

28. **ut essent**: explanatory of *aliquid quod non rectum esset.*

29. **adiutores ad iniuriam**: note the prepositional phrase limiting a substantive.

quod recusarent: *quod* is the conjunction.

30. **quamvis honeste**: *with however honorable motives.*

32. **quidvis**: *anything and everything* (Reid).

16. 4. **quasi**: apologetic; see note on p. 10, l. 21; *fatum* is properly used only with reference to human beings.

5. **subterfugere**: *escape from under*, continuing the figure begun in *impendere.*

sapientiae, felicitatis: sc. *esse*, — *to be a matter not only of wisdom but actually of good luck.*

6. **diceret sibi videri**: pleonastic for *sibi videretur*, *i.e. seemed to him, he said.*

8. **quatenus amor progredi debeat**: *to what lengths love ought to go.*

9. **Numne**: in the classical Latin found only here and de Nat. Deo. I, 31, 88.

ferre illi debuerunt: *was it their duty to bear?*

10. **cum Coriolano**: vividness is gained by repeating the proper name instead of using the pronoun.

11. **Vecellinum**: *i.e.* Spurius Cassius; see note on p. 13, l. 9.

Maelium: see note on p. 13, l. 10.

12. **Tib. quidem Gracchum**: *as regards Gracchus at any rate; quidem* serves to throw Gracchus's name into relief, as compared with those previously mentioned. The reference is to the famous agrarian agitator, who was murdered in 133 B.C. by a 'mob of gentlemen' headed by P. Cornelius Scipio, while illegally offering himself as a candidate for the tribuneship, an office he was then holding.

13. **Q. Tuberone**: Quintus Aelius Tubero was a nephew of the younger Scipio. As tribune in 133 B.C. he showed sturdy opposition to the plans of Gracchus.

aequalibus: *of the same age;* Laelius evidently means to imply that Gracchus was followed only by the young and inexperienced, — men like C. Cato and Carbo, mentioned p. 17, l. 19.

14. **derelictum**: *de-* is intensive as in *decertatum*, p. 13, l. 11.

C. Blossius Cumanus: *Gaius Blossius of Cumae*, a Stoic

philosopher; as stated in what follows, he encouraged Tiberius Gracchus in the formation and execution of his plans of agrarian reform.

15. **hospes**: *guest-friend.*

16. **aderam Laenati et Rupilio**, etc.: Laenas and Rupilius were consuls in 132 B.C. (the year after Gracchus's murder), and conducted an inquiry concerning the guilt of Gracchus's accomplices; in this investigation Laelius was called upon for advice.

deprecatum: used absolutely,—*to entreat* (*me to urge leniency*).

17. **ut ignoscerem**: dependent upon *causam.*

18. **quod tanti fecisset**: *that he had prized so highly.*

quidquid vellet: Subjunctive by Attraction.

20. **Etiamne**: sc. *hoc putares?*

21. **id quidem**: *quidem* serves merely to make *id* emphatic.

22. **Videtis, quam nefaria vox**: sc. *sit;* the omission of the verb in indirect questions is paralleled in Cicero by only a single example, de Off. I, 152, *comparatio de duobus utrum honestius.*

23. **vel plus etiam**: *or rather even more.*

24. **comitem illius furoris**: for one genitive dependent upon another, cf. p. 14, l. 4, *admiratione virtutis eius.*

25. **hac amentia**: causal.

26. **quaestione nova**: the special inquiry conducted by the consuls.

in Asiam profugit: Blossius fled to Aristonicus, who had seized the kingdom of Attalus just bequeathed to the Roman people.

poenas persolvit: after the defeat of Aristonicus, in 129 B.C., Blossius took his own life. Note the vividness lent to the narration by the asyndeton in *perfugit*, *contulit*, *persolvit.*

27. **graves iustasque**: *-que* is adversative; cf. p. 9, l. 22.

29. **si peccaveris, si defeceris**: the second person singular is here general; the present tense is much commoner in this usage than the perfect; both have the same force, however.

conciliatrix: Cicero is especially fond of these feminine nouns of agency in *-trix*, coining many new forms where the limited noun is feminine.

30. **virtutis opinio**: *i.e.* a mutual presumption of virtue.

31. **rectum statuerimus**: lit. *set it up as right*, i.e. *regard it as the right thing*.

17. 1. **perfecta quidem sapientia**, etc.: *the plan would have no defect, were we to be endowed with absolute wisdom;* the main protasis of this sentence is *si statuerimus*, the apodosis *habeat* being later restricted in its application by the addition of *si . . . simus*.

3. **qui ante oculos**: note the gradual climax, — those now in the public view, those who formerly were, those of whom we have heard; *quos novit vita communis* refers to all three classes alike.

5. **Ex hoc numero**: emphatic by position, — *this is the number from which*, etc.

6. **ad sapientiam**: *i.e.* to the ideal wisdom of the Stoics.

7. **Videmus**: *i.e.* see from the records, and so *know*.

Papum Aemilium Luscino: Quintus Aemilius Papus and Gaius Fabricius Luscinus were consuls together 282 and 278 B.C., censors in 275. Notice the inversion in the names *Papum Aemilium;* this is permissible only when the *praenomen* (*Gaius*, *Quintus*, etc.) is omitted. Even then Cicero rarely inverts the names, though the arrangement is very common in Tacitus and other post-Augustan writers.

9. **consules, collegas**: predicates of *eos* to be supplied in thought.

tum: *again;* not temporal, but used to introduce another illustration.

cum eis: viz. with Papus and Luscinus.

10. **M'. Curium, Ti. Coruncanium**: see note on p. 8, l. 14.

11. **Igitur**: only rarely placed at the beginning of a sentence by Cicero. Sallust and post-Augustan writers, however, use it freely in this position.

12. **ab amico quippiam contendisse**: *importuned a friend for anything*.

14. **in talibus viris**: *in case of such men;* cf. p. 4, l. 21, *in pueris*.

17. **rogatum**: *when asked*, agreeing with the subject of *facere*.

18. **Tib. Gracchum**: the emphasis rests on this word, — *but in case of Gracchus, now*.

19. **C. Carbo, C. Cato**: Gaius Papirius Carbo was an able but unprincipled man. As one of the triumvirs appointed for carrying

into execution the agrarian law of Tiberius Gracchus, and also as tribune of the plebs in 131 B.C., he displayed the bitterest antagonism toward the aristocracy, and was even suspected of the murder of Scipio Africanus. Subsequently, after the death of Gaius Gracchus (121 B.C.), he endeavored as consul to ingratiate himself with the aristocratic party, but without success. In 119 he was accused for his participation in the Gracchan disturbances and, as he foresaw his condemnation, took his own life. Gaius Cato was a grandson of Cato the Elder.

et minime tum quidem, etc.: *and his brother Gaius, then, to be sure, by no means zealous, now, however* (idem), *very much so;* with *minime* supply in thought *acer* (from *acerrimus*); *nunc* (the time of the dialogue) is 129 B.C.; *et* here is not to be taken as connecting the two final members of an enumeration of three names (*Carbo*, *Cato*, *Gaius frater*), but *Carbo*, *Cato* on the one hand are opposed to *Gaius* on the other.

21. **Haec lex**: explained by the following *ut*-clause.

22. **ut neque . . . nec**: *ut neve . . . neve*, or *ne aut . . . aut* would have been the usual mode of expression.

23. **ceteris**: *i.e.* other than the special instance described by the clause *si . . . fateatur*.

25. **eo loco locati sumus**: *we are so situated, are in such a condition.*

28. **de spatio curriculoque**: figures drawn from racing are very frequent in Latin; cf. Cato Maior, § 38, *haec curricula mentis;* § 83 fin., *nec vero velim quasi decurso spatio ad carceres a calce revocari.*

consuetudo maiorum: *i.e.* the custom inaugurated and long followed by our ancestors.

29. **vel regnavit**: *or rather exercised regal power; vel* is here equivalent to *vel potius*.

30. **is quidem**: these words serve merely as an emphatic repetition of the subject (*Tib. Gracchus*).

32. **in P. Scipione**: *in the case of Scipio;* the reference is to Africanus, whose recent death was laid at the door of the revolutionary party; see Introd. § 5.

18. 1. **non queo**: in the first singular Cicero always says *non queo*, not *nequeo*.

Nam: elliptical; supply in thought: 'what we endured from Carbo I will not mention.'

2. **quoquo modo potuimus**: *i.e.* as best we could.

propter recentem poenam Tib. Gracchi: *i.e.* to prevent a repetition in Carbo's case of the violent measures employed against Tiberius Gracchus.

3. **de C. Gracchi tribunatu**: *i.e.* concerning a possible tribuneship of Gaius Gracchus. It was not till six years later (123 B.C.) that Gaius was elected to this office. But he was already an acknowledged leader of the movement organized by his brother, and hence was likely to stand for the office of tribune.

4. **autem**: the position of *autem* is irregular; ordinarily it would immediately follow the praenomen; cf. p. 28, l. 12, *Q. vero Maximum.*

quid exspectem: *what to expect;* Deliberative Subjunctive in a dependent question.

5. **Serpit . . . res**: *i.e.* makes its way stealthily.

proclivis: the adjective has adverbial force.

6. **coepit**: sc. *labi.*

in tabella, etc.: emphatic as shown by the position, — *in the matter of voting you see what a*, etc.; ordinarily, the interrogative stands at the beginning of its clause.

7. **Gabinia lege . . . Cassia**: the Gabinian law (passed in 139 B.C.) established a secret ballot in the election of magistrates; by the Cassian law (passed two years later), the secret ballot was introduced into the courts. Previous to that, votes were given *viva voce*, but this system had given rise to abuses in the interest of the aristocrats.

8. **populum**: *i.e.* the popular party, designated immediately afterwards as *multitudo.*

10. **haec**: *i.e.* these radical measures.

11. **quam . . . eis resistatur**: *than how they are resisted; eis* refers back to *haec;* on the substantive use of neuter pronouns outside of the nominative and accusative, see note on p. 14, l. 15; *resisto* being intransitive can be used in the passive only impersonally.

Quorsum haec: sc. *dixi*, cf. Cato Maior, § 13.

13. **bonis**: in the political sense of the aristocrats or *optimates.*

ut ne existiment: *ut ne* is fairly frequent in Cicero for the simple *ne.*

17. **alterum**: here equivalent to *alium.*

20. **imperator**: Themistocles was commander of the Athenians only. The Spartan Eurybiades was commander-in-chief of the combined Greek forces.

bello Persico: the Second Persian War, 480 B.C.

23. **fecit idem**: (*but*) *did the same* (*i.e.* turned traitor); adversative asyndeton.

viginti annis ante: Themistocles's treason occurred in 471 B.C.; Coriolanus's in 491.

24. **His**: *for these.*

25. **mortem conscivit**: the story of suicide is apocryphal in the case of both. According to Thucydides (I. 68), Themistocles died a natural death at Magnesia in Asia Minor, while Coriolanus is represented by Livy as living to an advanced age among the Volscians.

28. **ut ne quis**: on *ut ne* instead of the simple *ne*, cf. l. 13 above.

concessum putet sequi: *think it allowable to follow.*

29. **quod quidem haud scio an,** etc.: *and this* (viz. lending aid to a friend who is waging war against his country), *I am inclined to think may yet come to pass.*

30. **ut res ire coepit**: in English we use the plural, — *as things have begun to go.*

19. 2. **honesta**: *i.e. only* what is right.

3. **ne exspectemus quidem**: in English we should make this grammatically subordinate to *faciamus,* — *and that too without waiting to be asked.*

studium: *willingness.*

5. **libere**: placed at the end of the sentence for the purpose of emphasis.

amicitia amicorum: for the juxtaposition of words etymologically related, see note on p. 2, l. 28.

6. **eaque et**: *et* is correlative with *et* in l. 8.

8. **si res postulabit**: to be taken with *acriter* not with *aperte.*

adhibitae pareatur: *let it be obeyed when applied;* with *adhibitae* supply in sense *auctoritati;* for intransitive verbs used impersonally in the passive, cf. p. 18, l. 11, *eis resistatur.*

Nam: elliptical, as above, p. 18, l. 1; supply in thought: 'other views are wrong,' or some such idea.

9. **quibusdam placuisse mirabilia quaedam**: *by* (lit. *to*) *certain persons quite remarkable views were held;* on this force of *quaedam*, see note on p. 3, l. 18. Laelius refers to the views of the Epicureans and Cyrenaics, which he now proceeds to consider.

11. **persequantur argutiis**: *follow up with their subtle investigations.*

partim: *on the one hand;* referring loosely to the Epicureans; *partim* is correlative with *Alios* below in l. 19.

12. **nimias**: *too intimate.*

13. **satis superque**, etc.: *that each had enough and more with his own affairs; sibi* is loosely introduced as an Ethical Dative to bring out more clearly the contrast between *suarum* and *alienis;* cf. *sibi suo*, p. 5, l. 11.

14. **alienis**: sc. *rebus;* ablative case.

nimis: with *implicari.*

16. **quas adducas**: *to draw in;* Relative Clause of Purpose. This passage is evidently an imitation of Euripides's Hippolytus, l. 253 ff.:

Be links of mortal friendship frail:

Let heartstrings ne'er together cling,
    Nor be indissolubly twined
    The cords of love, but lightly joined
For knitting close or severing.

Ah weary burden, where one soul
    Travails for twain, as mine for thee!
    Ruin, not bliss, say they, shall be
Care's life-absorbing heart-control.

—WAY'S Translation.

17. **caput**: *i.e.* the essential requisite.

18. **securitatem**: the ἀταραξία or freedom from care of the Epicureans; see note on p. 14, l. 15.

qua possit: in indirect discourse a relative clause, when it is logically coördinate with a principal clause (*qui* being then equivalent to *et is*), regularly stands in the infinitive. We should therefore expect here: *quam frui non posse animum;* such exceptions as the present are infrequent.

tamquam parturiat: *tamquam* ('apologetic'; p. 10, l. 21), serves to soften the boldness of the figure in *parturiat.*

19. **Alios**: the Cyrenaics, followers of Aristippus of Cyrene, who flourished in the early part of the 4th century B.C.

20. **aiunt**: the subject is general.

multo etiam inhumanius: *with much less of human feeling.*

quem locum: *a point which.*

21. **paulo ante**: viz. p. 12, l. 10 ff.

23. **expetendas**: *expetere* implies choice and deliberation in the seeking; *appetere* emphasizes merely the earnestness of the quest.

ut haberet: the sequence is irregular. But in quoted views Cicero at times employs a secondary tense in a subordinate clause even where the tense of the main verb (as here *aiunt*) is primary.

25. **mulierculae**: the diminutive is here chosen in view of the relative weakness of women as compared with men.

26. **quaerant**: here we have the normal sequence of tenses.

27. **putentur**: Subjunctive of Characteristic.

beati: *fortunate.*

28. **praeclaram**: ironical.

31. **Quae**: *of what sort?*

32. **reapse**: for *re eapse* (cf. the Plautine *eopse*, *eumpse* = *ipso*, *ipsum*); hence equivalent to *re ipsa*; the word is archaic.

multis locis: *in many respects.*

20. 1. **ullam honestam rem**: *i.e.* anything honorable in and of itself.

2. **ne sollicitus sis**: join closely with *non suscipere* and *deponere*, — *to refuse to undertake it, or to abandon it when undertaken, with the object of avoiding annoyance.*

3. **curam fugimus**: *i.e.* make it an object to avoid care; conative present.

4. **quae necesse est cum aliqua cura**, etc.: the emphasis rests on *cum aliqua cura*, — *which must experience some distress in spurning things opposed to itself;* for the absence of *ut* after *necesse est*, see B. 259, 8; G. 538, Rem. 2; H. 502, 1.

5. **bonitas**: here = *iustitia.*

6. **videas**: *you can see;* an instance of the rare 'can'-potential.

8. **modestos**: *i.e.* men of self-control; the word corresponds to *temperantia*, just as *iustos* to *bonitas*.

10. **cadit in sapientem**: *attaches to the wise man*, *i.e.* is consistent with his nature; as p. 39, l. 8.

13. **ne suscipiamus**: *to avoid incurring.*

aliquas: cf. p. 12, l. 32, *si aliquem.*

17. **isti**: the Stoics, who maintained the doctrine of ἀπάθεια, for which see note on p. 4, l. 28.

18. **audiendi**: *to be heeded, listened to.*

quasi ferream: *quasi* 'apologetic' to soften the metaphor.

virtutem . . . volunt: *will have it that virtue*, etc.; *volunt*, as p. 13, l. 28.

19. **quae quidem**: adversative, — *and yet this.*

multis in rebus: *in many other things; multis* for *multis aliis*, as p. 1, l. 13.

20. **tenera**: *elastic.*

21. **bonis**: *bona* ordinarily means *goods, property;* here it means *advantages, good fortune.*

diffundatur contrahatur: the subject is *virtus.*

24. **non plus**, etc.: the idea is imperfectly expressed; Laelius really means: 'no more than cares and annoyances constitute a reason for discarding virtue.'

26. **Cum contrahat**: the subject is the clause *si . . . eluceat* (the manifestation of virtue).

ut supra dixi: p. 13, l. 3 ff. and p. 14, l. 21 ff. *Supra* applies properly to written, not spoken, discourse. Its use here is an inadvertency on Cicero's part, showing that he has momentarily forgotten the dialogue character of the discussion.

27. **ad quam se applicet et adiungat**: Relative Clauses of Purpose; note also the hysteron proteron; cf. p. 14, l. 23, *applicant se et propius admovent.*

28. **id cum contigit**: *id* refers to the clause *si . . . eluceat.*

30. **multis inanimis rebus**: not *multis et inanimis* (cf. p. 14, l. 8), since *inanimae res* is a single concept.

32. **animante virtute praedito**, etc.: *but not to be delighted with what is animate and is endowed with virtue;* the antithesis between *delectari inanimis rebus* and *animante praedito virtute non delectari* is much heightened by the asyndeton and the

chiasmus. Note that *animans*, usually feminine, is here masculine, as referring to a human being.

21. 1. **redamare**: a new word, coined by Cicero to render the Greek ἀντιφιλεῖν; hence the apologetic *ut ita dicam*.

3. **vicissitudine**: *reciprocity*.

4. **illud**: explained by the following *nihil esse*.

8. **propinquitate atque natura**: *natural affinity;* hendiadys.

9. **similium**: neuter; for this substantive use, see note on p. 14, l. 15, *Ab his*.

11. **constet**: *it would be admitted*.

bonis inter bonos: more emphatic than *bonis inter se*, which would have been the natural mode of expression.

12. **necessariam**: sc. *esse*.

qui est fons: *qui*, though referring to *benevolentiam*, is attracted to the gender of its predicate *fons;* such attraction is the rule in Latin.

13. **Sed . . . pertinet**: *i.e.* kind feeling is not limited in its effects to the few who cherish it toward one another.

eadem bonitas: *kindness likewise; bonitas* is here equivalent to *benevolentia*.

15. **inhumana**: *i.e.* lacking in feeling for one's fellow-men.

immunis: *deficient in service;* this meaning of *immunis* is rare; it ordinarily means *exempt from duties, burdens*.

quae soleat: *since it is wont;* Clause of Characteristic with accessory notion of cause.

19. **utilitatis causa**: in predicate relation to *amicitias*, — *conceive friendships as (existing) for the purpose of advantage*.

amabilissimum: on the comparison of adjectives in *-bilis*, see note on p. 2, l. 20, *maxime memorabilem*.

21. **tumque**: *then* and then only; explained by the following *si*-clause; cf. p. 11, l. 27.

23. **tantumque abest ut amicitiae . . . colantur, ut ei . . . sint**: *so far are friendships from being cultivated . . ., that those are most generous who*, etc. The first *ut*-clause is a Substantive Clause of Result, the second one of Pure Result.

27. **Atque**: *and yet;* here corrective like *quamquam*.

haud sciam an: *I should be inclined to think;* a more guarded form of statement than the customary *haud scio an*.

ne opus sit quidem, etc.: *that absolute self-sufficiency* (*nihil deesse*) *is not even of advantage; nihil deesse* is Cicero's rendering of the Greek αὐτάρκεια (*self-sufficiency*); note *opus* here in the sense *of advantage;* the word is an archaic genitive of *ops* ('assistance'), and preserves many traces of its original meaning; more frequently, of course, it has the secondary sense of *necessary.*

28. **Ubi . . . viguissent**: *wherein would my devotion have had opportunity to display itself? Ubi* here = *qua in re; vigere* is lit. to *flourish,* and so here *be active, display itself.*

30. **nec . . . nec**: these do not counteract the preceding negative (*numquam*), but, as often, simply take up and repeat the negative idea.

22. 1. **deliciis diffluentes**: notice the alliteration.

3. **habent cognitam**: hardly different in force from *cognoverunt.*

4. **ut diligat,** etc.: *on the understanding that he neither love any one,* etc.; 'stipulations' like this are a development of the Jussive Subjunctive; *ea condicione, ea lege,* or some such phrase, often precedes; on *ut neque . . . nec,* see note on p. 17, l. 22.

5. **ab ullo**: in the ablative, *ullo* is more commonly used as a substantive by Cicero than *quoquam.*

7. **Haec**: for *hoc,* by attraction to the predicate *vita;* it refers back to the general thought of the preceding sentence, — living in luxury, but loving none and loved by none.

12. **Coluntur**: *they* (*tyranni*) *are courted; colere* involves only the outward forms of respect, not actual personal regard.

13. **dumtaxat**: with *simulatione.*

14. **ceciderunt**: *i.e.* from power.

15. **inopes amicorum**: *i.e.* lacking in real friends.

Quod: referring to the substance of the previous statement, *tum intellegitur,* etc.

16. **tum se intellexisse . . . cum**: *i.e.* had not known till then.

17. **gratiam referre**: *repay; gratiam referre* may mean either *to return a favor* or *to return an injury;* here it involves both senses.

18. **miror, si habere potuit**: *I am surprised if he could have had.*

illa superbia: *with that haughtiness*, *i.e.* that haughtiness for which he was noted; Ablative of Attendant Circumstance.

19. **quemquam amicum**: *anybody as a friend.*

20. **ut huius . . . sic multorum**: both emphatic, — *as in his case, so in the case of many.*

parare: *win.*

25. **insipiente fortunato**: '*a fool of fortune*'; *insipiente* is the substantive here, *fortunato* adjective.

26. **fieri potest**: *can there be*; hardly different from *potest esse.*

Atque: used in passing from the general to the special, as p. 15, l. 14.

hoc quidem: *hoc* is explained by the following infinitives: *immutari*, *sperni*, *indulgeri*; *quidem* serves only to emphasize *hoc*; cf. p. 9, l. 15.

28. **imperio, potestate**: when used with precision *potestas* designates the general vested power of any official, *imperium* the special military power with which the higher officials (dictators, consuls, praetors) were invested by the *Comitia curiata.*

prosperis rebus: for the order, cf. p. 1, l. 4, *virili toga.*

29. **sperni**: *are ignored*; the change of subject here is somewhat abrupt.

veteres: *long-standing.*

novis: sc. *amicitiis*, indirect object of the impersonal *indulgeri*; cf. p. 18, l. 11, *eis resistatur.*

31. **cetera**: *i.e.* as opposed to *amicos*; cf. p. 3, l. 21, *in reliqua Graecia.*

23. 1. **amicos non parare**: note the adversative asyndeton.

2. **ut ita dicam**: see note on p. 13, l. 26.

cetera: the material possessions just mentioned.

4. **eius est**: *belongs to him*; Possessive Genitive.

istorum: with a shade of contempt; the form is neuter, = *istarum rerum*; cf. note on p. 14, l. 15, *Ab his.*

vicit viribus: *has proved superior in power*; *vincere* is here used absolutely; note the alliteration.

5. **amicitiarum**, etc.: *amicitiarum* is emphatic, and hence is put first, — *but in case of friendships each one's ownership continues fixed and sure*; *stabilis* and *certa* stand in predicate relation to *possessio.*

6. **ut vita non possit**: *so that life could not be.*

illa: *those things,* before mentioned; *illa* does not serve merely as the antecedent of *quae;* hence, not *those things which,* but *those things* (*already mentioned*), *which.*

8. **Sed haec hactenus**: = *but enough of this.* Laelius here terminates the digression begun at p. 19, l. 8, and now returns from his criticism of existing views concerning the proper basis of friendship to a discussion of the inquiry how far one ought to go in friendship (*quatenus amor in amicitia progredi debeat*).

CHAPTERS XVI.–XVII. § 61.

What should be the measure of our devotion to our friends? Discussion of three different views, all of which are condemned by Laelius. The proper attitude, he declares, is to recognize no restrictions upon the degree of our devotion. Our friends should be one with ourselves, and their interest should be our interest.

9. **Constituendi sunt, qui fines**: the form of expression is not exact, being apparently the result of confusion of two ideas: *constituendi sunt fines* and *constituendum est qui sint fines.* Cf. p. 25, l. 29, *quidam perspiciuntur quam sint leves.*

10. **termini**: originally the *boundary posts,* and then used generally for *boundaries, limits.*

de quibus: sc. *finibus et terminis.*

11. **ferri**: best taken as *are current;* cf. p. 3, l. 16, *ferebantur.*

12. **unam, alteram, tertiam**: in such enumerations, *una, altera* are regularly used instead of *prima, secunda;* cf. Cato Maior, § 15.

ut . . . simus: this is the view of the Epicureans; the *ut*-clause is a Substantive Clause of Jussive (Hortatory) origin, dependent upon the notion of *bidding* or *urging* involved in *sententia.*

affecti: *disposed.*

13. **nosmet ipsos**: *our own selves.*

14. **pariter aequaliterque**: cf. p. 14, l. 25, *pares et aequales.*

15. **ut, quanti quisque se ipse faciat,** etc.: *that one be as highly prized by his friends as he prizes himself; quanti* and *tanti* are Genitives of Value; on *se ipse,* see note on p. 3, l. 6.

17. **nulli prorsus**: *none at all;* for the position of *prorsus*, cf. p. 1, l. 15, *pauci admodum*.

18. **in se quisque sit**: sc. *animatus*.

20. **numquam faceremus**: the protasis is involved in *nostra causa*, — *were it for our own sakes*.

causa amicorum: notice the unusual order, employed here for the purpose of heightening the antithesis between *nostra causa* and *causa amicorum*.

21. **precari**, etc.: explanatory of *quam multa*.

acerbius, vehementius: *i.e.* more bitterly, more earnestly than usual. English, however, contents itself here with the positive. Note further the chiasmus in *acerbius invehi, insectari vehementius*.

22. **invehi**: *inveigh*.

quae: its antecedent is to be found in the preceding infinitives.

23. **non satis**: *not altogether*.

honeste: here *with honor*.

amicorum: sc. *rebus*.

24. **multaeque**: *-que* here = *and so*.

27. **est, quae**: *is that which*.

definit amicitiam, etc.: *bounds friendship by*, etc., *i.e. limits friendship to*, etc.

paribus officiis et voluntatibus: *paribus* is the emphatic word; hence in English: *by equality of obligation and inclination*.

28. **nimis exigue et exiliter**: *in too small and close a fashion; exig-uus* and *exilis* (for *exig-lis*) are from the same root.

29. **ad calculos vocare**, etc.: *calling friendship to account*, as though the relation were a purely commercial one; *calculi* 'pebbles,' 'counters,' were used in numerical computation.

30. **ratio**: *the account*.

acceptorum et datorum: *of credit and debit*, lit. *of what is received and what is given out*; but the terms early acquired a technical commercial sense. On the substantive use of the participles, see note on p. 14, l. 15.

Divitior: this (and not *ditior*) is the regular form of the comparative in Cicero.

24. 1. **ne excidat**, etc.: the figure seems to be taken from measuring grain.

2. **ne plus aequo . . . congeratur**: *i.e.* one ought not to fear

lest the measure of friendship be filled more than level full (*plus aequo*).

3. **finis**: *ideal, object.*

deterrimus: sc. *est.*

ut fiat: Substantive Clause of Jussive origin; cf. above, p. 23, l. 12.

5. **abiectior, fractior**: *somewhat downcast, somewhat enfeebled.*

6. **Non est amici**: *it's not the part of a friend.*

7. **ille**: referring to the same person as *eum*; some pronoun is absolutely necessary to perspicuity, and *ille* is chosen to avoid a repetition of *is*.

8. **eniti et efficere**: *to strive to bring it to pass*; an instance of verb hendiadys.

11. **si dixero**: here, as often with temporal force — *when I have stated.*

quid solitus sit: indirect question.

12. **vocem**: *utterance.*

13. **eius, qui dixisset**: these words, which seem to us superfluous, are necessitated by the fact that *vocem*, as a substantive, cannot govern an infinitive.

14. **ita**: explained by the following *ut si*-clause.

amare oportere: the subject is general, — *one ought to love*; so below *osurus esset.*

si aliquando: cf. p. 12, l. 32, *si aliquem.*

15. **nec vero**: supply in thought *dicebat* from *Negabat* above.

16. **Biante**: Bias of Priene (6th century B.C.), one of the Seven Sages; see note on p. 3, l. 22. The saying is attributed also to another of the Seven Sages, Chilon. The Greek is: *ὡς δεῖ φιλεῖν ὡς μισήσοντα καὶ μισεῖν ὡς φιλήσοντα.*

17. **impuri cuiusdam esse sententiam**: adversative asyndeton, — *but that it was the view of some low-minded man*; *esse* depends upon *dicebat se credere* or something similar, to be supplied in thought from the context.

18. **revocantis**: *referring.*

20. **cui putabit**: the indicative (and not the subjunctive) is here used, because the relative clause, though used to characterize the antecedent, involves a *condition*, — *if he thinks*, etc.; cf. note on p. 9, l. 29, *quae non quiescit.*

21. **cupere et optare**: *cupere* is spontaneous, *optare* implies a deliberate choice.

22. **quam saepissime**: *as frequently as possible.*

23. **tamquam ansas**: *tamquam* 'apologetic.'

ad reprehendendum: best taken in the literal sense, continuing the figure in *ansas.*

rursum autem: *on the other hand again.*

24. **angi, dolere, invidere**: all used absolutely.

27. **illud**: explained by what follows.

28. **ut ne inciperemus**: explanatory of *eam diligentiam;* on *ut ne*, see note on p. 18, l. 13.

30. **si fuissemus, ferendum (esse)**: in direct form this would be *si fuerimus, ferendum erit,—if we are unfortunate in our love, it ought to be put up with.*

32. **tempus**: *opportunity, occasion.*

25. 1. **His igitur finibus**, etc.: the emphasis rests on *his,—these now are the limits which I think should be observed.*

2. **ut sit**: substantive clause explanatory of *his finibus.*

cum sint: Subjunctive by Attraction.

emendati: *blameless*, in accordance with the fundamental principle announced p. 8, l. 5, *nisi in bonis amicitiam esse non posse.*

3. **omnium rerum . . . communitas**: *identity . . . in all things;* see note on p. 7, l. 8, *voluntatum, studiorum, sententiarum summa consensio.*

sine ulla exceptione: on the prepositional phrase limiting a substantive (here *communitas*), see note on p. 9, l. 10.

4. **ut etiam declinandum sit**: *also that one should turn aside.*

5. **minus iustae voluntates**, etc.: an illustration of this would be found in Cicero's defence of Milo.

6. **caput**: *civil status.*

agatur: *is at stake.*

7. **de via**: *i.e.* from the ordinary course.

modo ne: *provided only . . . not.*

8. **est quatenus possit**: *there is (a point) up to which indulgence can*, etc.; Clause of Characteristic.

9. **Nec vero**, etc.: Laelius has just been saying that a spirit of concession should be shown in yielding to the desires of one's friends, especially in the way of coming to their defence when they

are under accusation. He now proceeds to mention considerations which should impel or deter one in such cases. On the one hand, a friend is not to be so ready to lend help as to disregard his own good name (*nec neglegenda fama*); on the other hand, he is not to practise such reserve as to fail to win the good will of his fellow-citizens, for this is a powerful help to the achievement of one's ambitions. Yet right here is a caution: this good will is not to be sought at the expense of dignity, nor by flattery (*blanditiis et assentando*), but by virtue, which readily wins the desired favor (*quam sequitur caritas*).

11. **colligere**: *to gain.*

12. **virtus**: note the bold adversative asyndeton.

caritas: = *benevolentia.*

CHAPTERS XVII. § 62-XVIII.

The choice of friends. Importance of caution in making the selection.

15. **omnibus in rebus**: *i.e.* in all other things.

diligentiores: viz. than in friendship.

16. **capras et oves quot, amicos quot**: note the emphatic position of the substantives before the interrogative.

dicere posse: as subject understand *homines.*

17. **amicos quot haberet, non posse dicere**: *but not how many friends;* note the adversative asyndeton, and the repetition in Latin of *posse dicere* with the negative; cf. note on p. 8, l. 32, *ex propinquitate.*

in illis quidem: *quidem* serves merely to prepare the way for the contrasted *amicis.*

22. **cuius generis**: *a class of which.*

penuria: *dearth.*

23. **iudicare**: *i.e.* whether men have these traits.

nisi expertum: *i.e.* unless you have had experience; *expertum* agrees with the indefinite subject of *iudicare.*

24. **Ita praecurrit amicitia iudicium**: lit. *so does friendship forestall a decision; i.e.* so true is it that the actual friendship

must precede any adequate judgment of the character of one's friends.

25. **potestatem**: *opportunity.*

26. **Est igitur prudentis**: *i.e.* it is the part of a wise man to exercise the same caution in entering upon a new friendship, as in driving a new team.

sustinere: *hold in check.*

cursum: *i.e.* as the context shows, the course of a team of horses.

27. **quo**: = *ut eo, in order that thereby.*

quasi . . . sic: = *ut . . . sic*, 'just as . . . so'; cf. Cato Maior, § 71. The usage is archaic.

28. **amicitiis**: governed by *utamur.*

periclitatis: *tested;* an instance of the perfect passive participle of a deponent verb with passive force; so often *meditatus.*

moribus: Ablative of Means.

29. **Quidam perspiciuntur**, etc.: *in case of certain persons often a small money transaction serves to show how unreliable they are;* as regularly, the order of the words corresponds to the degree of emphasis attaching to the several elements of the thought; hence *quidam* is put first, and this leads to the attraction of the main verb to agreement with *quidam;* strictly Laelius ought to have said: *Quidam quam leves sint, in parva pecunia perspicitur.*

31. **movere non potuit**: *could not have influenced.*

32. **Sint aliqui reperti**: *granting that some have been discovered;* Jussive Subjunctive with Concessive force. A. & G. 266, *c*; B. 278; G. 264; H. 484, III.

26. 3. **ut**: *so that.*

4. **haec, illa**: both pronouns refer to *honores, magistratus*, etc. In the first instance these objects are conceived of as near in thought; hence *haec.* In the second instance they are conceived of as remote; hence *illa.*

6. **quam etiamsi neglecta amicitia consecuti sint**: the emphasis rests upon *neglecta amicitia*, — *even though they should disregard friendship to attain this* (*potentia*).

7. **obscuratum iri**: this contains in dependent form the apodosis of the previous *etiamsi*-clause; in direct discourse it would be *obscuretur.* As subject understand the idea (contained in the previous clause) of sacrificing friendship to political power.

quia non sit neglecta amicitia: *because friendship has not been neglected.*

9. **verae amicitiae difficillime reperiuntur in eis**, etc.: Cicero, as he wrote this, was doubtless thinking of some of the bitter disappointments of his own political experience, and particularly of Pompey, who had betrayed Cicero's interests to Caesar and Clodius.

11. **suo**: made emphatic by its position at the very end of the sentence.

13. **calamitatum societates**: *participation in misfortunes;* the plural *societates* is used because different instances of such participation are present to Laelius's mind.

ad quas: with *descendant.*

14. **descendant**: *descendo* in this figurative sense is used especially of what is done unwillingly.

Ennius recte: sc. *dicit;* for Ennius see note on p. 9, l. 29.

16. **Amicus certus**, etc.: notice the alliteration; the exact source of this line is not known. Its metre is the iambic trimeter (six iambi). The scansion is:

Amí | cus cer | tus ‖ ín | rᵉ incer | ta cér | nitur.

For the iambi of the 2d, 4th, and 5th feet, spondees are substituted.

17. **haec duo**: *these two things*, explained by the following clauses.

18. **convincunt**: *convict.*

in bonis rebus: *i.e.* in their *own* prosperity.

contemnunt: not so strong as our 'despise,' but rather 'overlook,' 'disregard'; as object understand *amicos.*

in malis: viz. of their friends.

21. **praestiterit**: subjunctive.

ex maxime raro genere: *as belonging to an exceptionally rare class;* this prepositional phrase has adjective force and serves as a predicate modifier of *hunc.*

24. **Firmamentum**: *the guarantee.*

26. **quod infidum est**: *which lacks faith;* for the indicative instead of the Subjunctive of Characteristic, see note on p. 9, l. 29, *quae non conquiescit.*

Simplicem: *frank*, *honest.*

27. **communem**: *i.e.* having a fellow feeling.

consentientem: *sympathetic.*

30. **multiplex**: opposed to *simplex*, — hence *deceitful.*

tortuosum: *tricky*, *untrustworthy.*

qui non movetur: the indicative as above in *quod infidum est; non* limits *consentit* as well as *movetur.*

31. **natura**: *naturally*, *instinctively.*

27. 2. **ut ne delectetur aut credat**: as indicated by *ne*, the Substantive Clause is here of Jussive origin, — *the injunction is to be added, not to delight*, etc.

3. **oblatis**: sc. *criminibus.*

4. **fit verum illud**: *that is substantiated.*

5. **initio**: viz. p. 8, l. 5.

6. **quem eundem sapientem licet dicere**: in spite of the Stoic conception of the *Sapiens* as an ideally perfect intelligence; cf. p. 8, l. 10.

7. **tenere**: *hold fast.*

8. **aperte vel odisse**: *open hatred even; odisse* is subject of the impersonal *est.*

9. **magis est**: *better befits.*

10. **deinde non solum repellere**: the corresponding clause introduced by *primum* stands in the subjunctive; hence there is a slight anacoluthon in using the infinitive in the second clause.

11. **ipsum**: general in meaning, — *oneself.*

semper existimantem: explanatory of *suspiciosum.*

12. **aliquid esse violatum**: *some wrong has been done; aliquid* here corresponds to an Accusative of Result (Internal Object) in the active construction.

13. **Accedat huc**, etc.: *to this there should be added.*

14. **haudquaquam mediocre**: litotes.

15. **in omni re severitas**: the prepositional phrase as adjective; cf. p. 9, l. 10, *cum benevolentia consensio.*

16. **illa quidem**: as p. 9, l. 15.

remissior: *less restrained.*

18. **facilitatem**: *i.e. ease of manner.*

CHAPTERS XIX.-XX.

Are old friends ever to be discarded for new ones? The mere question is shameful!—Where friends differ in rank and station, the superior should not make his preëminence conspicuous. Remember Scipio's modesty in this regard! So, too, the man of inferior station must not chafe at the loftier fortune of his friend. In lending assistance, be governed by two considerations: first, your own capacity; second, how much is good for your friend. Youthful intimacies are not an obligation upon our maturer years. Tastes change, and attachments change with them. Sometimes, too, our friend's interest is so great that it becomes our duty to relinquish his friendship for his sake.

19. **Exsistit**: *there presents itself.*

21. **vetulis**: the diminutive has a certain disparaging force.

24. **satietates**: the plural, as *societates*, p. 26, l. 13.

veterrima quaeque esse debet suavissima: *i.e.* the older the friendship, the more attractive it ought to be; with *veterrima quaeque* supply in thought *amicitia.*

quae vetustatem ferunt: *i.e.* which improve with age; cf. Cato Maior, § 65, *non omne vinum vetustate coacescit.*

26. **quod dicitur**: used of proverbial sayings, like *ut aiunt, quod aiunt.*

multos modios salis, etc.: *i.e.* friendship must be long continued if we are to realize its possibilities.

27. **munus**: *its function, object.*

Novitates: sc. *amicitiarum*, *i.e.* new friendships.

28. **ut appareat**: the Substantive Clause after *spem* is regularly confined to ante-classical and post-Augustan Latin.

tamquam: here = *sicut*, 'just as.'

in herbis: here of the young grain in the blade.

29. **non fallacibus**: *i.e.* productive.

30. **vetustas**: often used, as here, in the sense of *old acquaintance.*

28. 1. **quin utatur**: *who does not use.*

quo consuevit: sc. *uti*, to be supplied from the following *utatur.*

2. **nec vero**: for *nec vero solum*, 'and not only.'

5. **montuosis etiam et silvestribus**: *etiam* implies (what was probably generally true) that the Romans did not possess a fondness for nature in its wilder and more romantic phases.

7. **parem esse inferiori**: *i.e.* to bring oneself to the level of those of humbler station.

8. **excellentiae**: *commanding individualities;* abstract for the concrete.

9. **grege**: *circle;* lit. 'flock,' 'herd'; hence the *ut ita dicam;* see note on p. 3, l. 26.

10. **Philo**: see note on p. 6, l. 18.

Rupilio: see note on p. 16, l. 16.

11. **Mummio**: Spurius Mummius, brother of Lucius Mummius, destroyer of Corinth.

12. **Q. Maximum**: Quintus Fabius Maximus; he was the eldest son of Lucius Aemilius Paulus, receiving the name Maximus as the result of adoption.

egregium omnino: *excellent, to be sure.*

13. **sibi nequaquam parem**: *but by no means equal to him* (Scipio).

is: viz. Maximus.

14. **suosque omnes**: *and in fact all his friends;* for this force of *-que*, cf. p. 23, l. 24, *multaeque.*

per se: *through his influence.*

15. **esse ampliores**: *to stand in higher honor.*

16. **ut impertiant, communicent, augeant, sint**: substantive clauses explanatory of *quod.*

18. **ea**: we should have expected *eam* referring to *praestantiam*, but the logical prominence of *virtutis, ingeni, fortunae*, easily accounts for the neuter plural.

19. **nati sint**: viz. those mentioned above as *omnibus.*

21. **honori sint**: probably not so much in the sense of conferring honor, as of helping their friends to attain it.

in fabulis: *in the legends*, as, for example, that of Romulus and Remus.

26. **multo profecto magis**: the word order as p. 3, l. 17, *iam.*

27. **omnisque**: *and in fact of all;* cf. above, l. 14, *suosque.*

30. **igitur**: *now;* merely a transitional particle here, as frequently.

coniunctionis: here in the narrow sense of *propinquitas*, 'relationship.'

31. **necessitudine**: *i.e.* the close connection.

29. 2. **queruntur aliquid aut etiam exprobrant**: *are uttering some complaint, or even some reproach; aliquid* (Accusative of Result) belongs with *exprobrant* as well as with *queruntur*.

4. **quod**: its antecedent is *aliquid*, to be supplied in thought as the object of *habere*.

officiose: *with devotion.*

labore aliquo suo: *with some effort on their part.*

5. **queant**: rarely used by Cicero unless accompanied by a negative; another instance, however, is found in Cato Maior, § 32, *hoc queo dicere.*

6. **officia exprobrantium**: *i.e.* reproachfully citing the kindnesses (*officia*) which they themselves have done.

7. **commemorare**: here in its original sense of 'calling to mind'; *commemorare* depends upon *debet* to be supplied.

qui contulit: its antecedent is *is*, to be supplied with *debet.*

9. **inferiores**: object of *extollere.*

11. **cum . . . putant**: *i.e.* in that they think they are lightly esteemed; for the meaning of *contemni*, see note on p. 26, l. 18.

ipsi: *they themselves*, as opposed to their friends who do *not* lightly esteem them.

12. **fere**: *as a rule.*

etiam contemnendos: *actually deserve to be slighted.*

13. **opinione**: here in the sense of *wrong conception; opinio* never designates a deliberate judgment, for which the Latin uses *sententia.*

verbis: *i.e.* assurances.

14. **Tantum autem**, etc.: *i.e.* in conferring favors one should be guided on the one hand by one's own ability, on the other by the real needs of one's friends.

15. **cuique**: here in the main clause at variance with regular usage; see note on p. 13, l. 25.

quantum . . . possis; quem diligas, adiuves: for the subjunctive of the indefinite second singular in subordinate clauses, see note on p. 10, l. 8, *quoquo te verteris.*

17. **sustinere**: sc. *potest.*

neque: the expected correlative is lacking. Laelius evidently sets out to say: 'Neither can you advance all your friends to the highest honors, nor can every friend sustain the burden of such responsibility if it be secured'; but this second member, owing to the illustrative remarks following *perducere*, is entirely forgotten. For *neque* used to take up and intensify a preceding general negative, cf. p. 4, l. 23, *ne . . . quidem*.

possis: Potential Subjunctive; the second singular has general force.

18. **quamvis excellas**: *however great your eminence.*

omnes tuos: *i.e.* all your friends and relatives.

19. **P. Rupilium**: see note on p. 16, l. 16.

20. **fratrem eius non potuit**: *but not his* (*Rupilius's*) *brother;* for the repetition of *potuit*, necessary in Latin, see note on p. 9, l. 1.

21. **deferre**: *confer.*

23. **Omnino**: *on the whole.*

amicitiae iudicandae sunt: = *iudicandum est de amicitiis, i.e.* judgment must be passed, a decision must be made, with regard to establishing a permanent friendship.

corroboratis confirmatisque et ingeniis: Ablative Absolute, — *only when the mind*, etc., *has matured.*

26. **eos habere necessarios**: *to treat those as related by a natural bond;* this is the original meaning of *necessarius* (from the root *nec-*, 'bind,' 'fasten'; cf. *necto*); the meaning 'necessary' is derived naturally from this; *habere* is a construction according to sense; supply in thought *oportet* from the preceding *iudicandae sunt* (= *oportet iudicare*).

tum: viz. *ineunte aetate.*

eodem studio: *the same interests.*

27. **Isto**: in a disparaging sense, as frequently.

nutrices, paedagogi: these were usually slaves. The *paedagogus* accompanied the boy to school and exercised a general supervision of his safety.

28. **iure vetustatis**: *i.e.* by right of long association; for *vetustas* in the sense of 'long acquaintance,' 'long friendship,' cf. p. 27, l. 30.

29. **alio quodam modo**: *an entirely different way;* for this use of *quidam*, see note on p. 3, l. 18.

30. **Aliter**: *i.e.* otherwise than by deferring till mature years our decision to form a friendship.

31. **Dispares enim mores**, etc.: *for difference of character is followed by difference of interests; mores* is object, *studia* subject; *dispares* and *disparia* bear the emphasis of the thought; cf. p. 23, l. 27, *paribus officiis*, 'equality of service.'

30. 3. **quanta maxima potest**: *the greatest possible;* cf. Cato Maior, § 41, *tanta voluptate quanta percipi posset maxima.*

6. **quod persaepe fit**: as antecedent of *quod*, understand the notion of obstructing the real advantages of one's friends implied in *impediat utilitates*, etc.

8. **Neoptolemus**: also called Pyrrhus. He was the son of Achilles, and was brought up by his grandfather Lycomēdes on the island of Scyros. From here Ulysses brought him to Troy, since an oracle had declared that only with his help could the Trojans be subdued.

10. **impedientem**: *endeavoring to prevent;* conative use.

audire: *heed, listen to*, as p. 35, l. 3, *audiendi.*

14. **parum iustus**: *lacking in justice.*

Atque in omni re, etc.: a brief résumé of the substance of §§ 73–75.

CHAPTERS XXI., XXII.

Practical rules for friendship: Friendships must sometimes be severed when friends are incompatible. In such cases the separation should be effected gently, not violently. The greatest care must be taken that the cessation of friendship should not mean the beginning of hatred. The best way to avoid difficulties of this kind is by exercising care at the outset in the choice of friends. Then again, let us not demand too much of our friends. Above all, remember that without virtue friendship cannot exist.

18. **necessaria**: *inevitable.*

19. **vulgares**: *of men in general; vulgaris* here has no disparaging force.

21. **tum . . . tum**: *now . . . now.*

quorum: viz. *vitia in alienos.*

22. **tamen**: *i.e.* in spite of the fact that these offences have been committed against strangers.

redundet: Relative Clause of Result, — *yet so that the disgrace of these (acts) falls upon their friends.*

23. **remissione usus**: *by a diminution of the intimacy.*

ut Catonem dicere audivi: *as I have heard that Cato said.*

24. **dissuendae**: *unravelled.*

26. **neque . . . neque . . . nec**: *neque rectum neque honestum sit* on the one hand are opposed to *nec fieri possit* on the other.

28. **Sin autem**: for the absence of a preceding *si*-clause, see note on p. 15, l. 17.

30. **in partibus**: lit. *in the parties*, *i.e.* in the partisan politics.

32. **communibus**: used as the equivalent of *vulgaris* above in l. 19.

81. 4. **Q. Pompei**: Quintus Pompeius Nepos; after promising to support Laelius in the consular election of 141 B.C., he is said to have devoted himself to securing his own election, in which endeavor he was successful.

meo nomine: *on my account.*

5. **dissensionem quae erat in re publica**: *disagreement in politics;* for the prepositional phrase as adjective, see note on p. 12, l. 30.

6. **collega**: viz. in the college of augurs.

7. **Metello**: Quintus Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus. He was the leader of the party opposed to Scipio.

et offensione, etc.: *i.e.* without any display of fierce resentment.

9. **danda opera est**: *pains must be taken.*

10. **ut videantur**: substantive clause, dependent, like *fiant*, upon *danda opera est.*

exstinctae potius quam oppressae esse: *to have died out rather than to have been put out by violence.* The words *exstingui* and *opprimi* are similarly contrasted in the Cato Maior, § 71.

14. **Quae tamen**: sc. *contumeliae.*

17. **Omnino**: *on the whole, all in all,* introducing a summary of the foregoing argument.

18. **una cautio**, etc.: *the only way of avoiding and providing against all these evils and annoyances is not to begin,* etc.

ut ne: on *ut ne* instead of the simple *ne*, cf. p. 18, l. 13.

19. **incipiant**: sc. *homines*.

non dignos: chosen rather than *indignos*, because of the following *digni*.

20. **quibus in ipsis**: as pointed out by Reid, *quibus* is probably dative, — *who possess in themselves a ground for being loved.*

21. **Et quidem**: *and in fact*, introducing an admission that the rarity of what is superior is not confined to friendship, but is true of other things as well.

23. **quod . . . sit**: Clause of Characteristic.

24. **neque . . . et**: correlative.

26. **potissimum**: *especially*.

27. **Ita**: not for *itaque*, 'and so,' 'therefore,' but *so truly do they fail to attain that noblest type of friendship.*

28. **maxime naturali**: many adjectives in *-alis* are incapable of terminational comparison.

per se: *in and of itself.*

29. **propter se**: *for its own sake.*

nec ipsi sibi exemplo sunt: *and they do not illustrate to themselves; exemplo* is Dative of Purpose. Laelius means that these persons fail to see that they love themselves for their own sakes, not for any ulterior purpose, and that they further fail to see that they ought to cherish their friends from similar motives.

30. **haec vis amicitiae**: put first in its clause for the sake of emphasis.

Ipse se, a se ipse: for the nominative *ipse*, see note on p. 3, l. 6.

32. **per se**: *in and of himself*, as above, l. 28.

82. 1. **Quod idem**: *i.e.* this same spontaneousness of affection that one feels for oneself.

2. **est enim is**, etc.: the subject of *est* is *is*; as predicate supply in thought *verus amicus*, — *for he is the true friend who is, so to speak, a second self.*

3. **hoc**: explained by the following *ut*-clauses.

4. **volucribus, etc.**: the animals are classified first with reference to their habitat, — air, water, earth (*volucribus, nantibus, agrestibus*); secondly, with reference to their being tame or wild (*cicuribus, feris*).

5. **id enim**: viz. self-love.

pariter: *to an equal degree.*

7. **ad quas applicent**: Relative Clause of Purpose.

8. **animantis**: with *quas.*

idque: supply in thought *si* from *Quodsi* in l. 3 above.

9. **quanto id magis**: for the word-order, see note on p. 3, l. 17, *iam habebat in senectute.*

10. **natura**: *naturally.*

11. **cuius misceat**: Relative Clause of Purpose.

12. **paene**: modifying the entire clause, not any single word.

13. **ne dicam impudenter**: *not to say shamelessly.*

15. **non possunt**: *i.e.* morally incapable.

16. **Par est**: *it is fitting.*

ipsum: in agreement with the indefinite subject of *esse* to be supplied in thought; cf. p. 25, l. 23, *expertum.*

19. **confirmari potest**: *potest* here involves future time, and so is temporally identical with the following futures, *imperabunt,* etc.

20. **quibus ceteri serviunt**: *to which others are slaves.*

24. **colent inter se ac diligent**: *cherish and love each other;* when the phrase *inter se* is used with reciprocal force, *se* is not repeated as object of the verb. B. 245, 1, *a.*

25. **verebuntur**: *i.e.* will entertain such a feeling of respect as will forbid the asking of what is dishonorable.

27. **in eis error**: our English idiom inverts the relation, — *they are in error.*

28. **lubidinum . . . licentiam**: *that the door is opened to lusts and sins of every kind.*

29. **virtutum**: put first to emphasize the contrast between *lubidinum, peccatorum,* and *virtutum, i.e.* 'tis not for lust and wrong doing, but for *virtue* that friendship is designed to be a help.

30. **ut perveniret**: to be joined closely in thought with *data est.*

32. **coniuncta et consociata**: *by being joined and allied.*

cum altera: = *cum alterius virtute.*

83. 1. **Quae si quos inter,** etc.: *and if this union exists between any;* the necessity of keeping *quos* (indefinite) with *si* has led to the anastrophe of the preposition.

2. **eorum ad summum naturae bonum comitatus**: *their escort on the road to nature's highest good must be held to be most excellent and blessed.* The verbal idea in *comitatus* justifies the prepositional phrase dependent upon a substantive; cf. note on p. 6, l. 15, *reditum in caelum.*

5. **honestas, gloria, tranquillitas animi atque iucunditas**: not four separate members with a connective between the last two (see note on p. 5, l. 31), but three members, of which the last is a hendiadys, — *sweet peace of spirit; honestas* means *virtue.*

6. **ut et . . . et**: *so that on the one hand. . . . and on the other.*

cum adsint: *cum* is here temporal; the subjunctive is the result of attraction.

8. **Quod**: *this object*, viz. attaining happiness.

13. **experiri**: used absolutely, — *to make the trial.*

14. **dicendum est enim saepius**: the same thought has been presented, p. 24, l. 27; p. 31, l. 18.

cum iudicaris, diligere oportet, etc.: *i.e.* one ought not to form friendships *until* one has passed judgment on one's intended friends. For the subjunctive, see note on p. 3, l. 8, *verteris.*

16. **cum . . . tum maxime**: *not only . . . but especially.*

multis in rebus: *in many (other) things;* cf. p. 1, l. 13, *Cum saepe multa.*

neglegentia: Ablative of Cause.

17. **praeposteris utimur consiliis**: '*we put the cart before the horse*' (Stock), *i.e.* we form friendships before we have tested the friend; *praeposterus* is applied to anything which is characterized by the reverse of the normal order or normal process. Hence *consilia praepostera* are those which come *after*, instead of *before*, action.

18. **acta agimus**: *we try to plead a case that is settled, i.e.* having determined upon friendship, we afterwards proceed to test our friend's capacity to sustain this important relation. The expression *acta agere* was proverbial with the Romans. An ancient Latin commentator (Donatus) explains the phrase as arising in legal practice, and as applying originally to cases in court. The above translation aims to reproduce this conception. In the contradiction involved in its two members, the phrase *acta agimus* is an excellent illustration of the figure known as oxymoron.

quod vetamur: sc. *facere*.

19. **implicati ultro et citro**: *having become mutually attached*, lit. *intertwined*.

20. **usu, officiis**: Ablatives of Cause, — *as a result of long intimacy and (mutual) acts of kindness.*

CHAPTER XXIII.

Neglect of friendship a serious fault. Of all human things this is the only one whose importance is universally recognized.

23. **Quo etiam magis**, etc.: *i.e.* such disregard is the more blameworthy in proportion as friendship itself is indispensable.

24. **Una est**: *una* (for *unum*, 'the only thing') is attracted to the gender of the predicate noun.

26. **Quamquam virtus ipsa**, etc.: *and yet even virtue is despised by many;* Laelius's argument is this: Virtue is despised by many; yet we all know that it is really desirable. How much more then must friendship be desirable, which no one despises, but which all with one accord unite in praising (*omnes uno ore consentiunt*).

28. **quos . . . delectat**: explanatory of *multi*, — viz. *those whom*, etc.

29. **parvo**: for the ablative neuter of adjectives used substantively, cf. p. 14, l. 15, *Ab his*.

victus cultusque: *victus* refers more particularly to subsistence, *cultus* to dress, furniture, and domestic adornment.

32. **cetera**: object of *putent*, but put at the beginning of the sentence for the sake of emphasis — *in the case of other things.*

34. 2. **omnes ad unum**: *all to a man.*

idem sentiunt: *cherish the same sentiment.*

3. **et**: correlative with the *et . . . et* following.

4. **rerum cognitione doctrinaque**: *i.e.* scientific investigation.

5. **otiosi**: *i.e.* free from participation in public life.

6. **vitam esse nullam**: *i.e.* that life is not worth living; cf. p. 9, l. 28, *qui potest esse vita vitalis?*

7. **si modo velint**: we should naturally expect the indicative

here; the subjunctive may be due to the presence of *modo*, felt as denoting a proviso.

liberaliter: *as becomes a gentleman.*

8. **Serpit per vitas**: *pervades the lives.*

9. **nec ullam . . . rationem**: *no calling*, lit. *no way of passing life.*

10. **esse expertem sui**: *to escape its* (*friendship's*) *influence.*

12. **ut**: put in the second place in order to emphasize *congressus.*

13. **Timonem**: Timon of Athens lived at the time of the Peloponnesian War. He was known by his contemporaries as ὁ μισάνθρωπος, 'the misanthrope,' and was the subject of literary treatment by Lucian (120–199 A.D.). Shakespere's play, Timon of Athens, deals with the same theme.

nescio quem: used, like *ut opinor* in line 24, to avoid the appearance of too exact knowledge of matters not generally familiar.

14. **is pati non possit**, etc.: the form of expression is exceedingly cumbrous and unusual. Translate: *yet he could not refrain from seeking some one.*

apud quem evomat: *in whose company to let forth.*

15. **hoc maxime iudicaretur**: *this conclusion* (viz. as to the indispensableness of friendship) *would be reached particularly.*

21. **qui posset**: *as to be able;* Relative Clause of Result.

22. **cuique**: *i.e. et cui.*

23. **a Tarentino Archyta**: Archytas of Tarentum was a famous Pythagorean philosopher who flourished about 400 B.C. He was eminent also as a mathematician, general, and statesman.

24. **dici solitum**: *solitum* stands in predicate relation to *quod*, — *which I have heard old men mention as an oft-repeated saying of Archytas, as my impression is* (*ut opinor*).

25. **ab aliis senibus**: *from other old men;* with *auditum.*

26. **si ascendisset**, etc.: in direct statement the pluperfects of this passage would be perfect subjunctives; *fore* would be present subjunctive, — *if one should mount and see, one's admiration would be; but all this would be . . . if one should have*, etc.

27. **illam admirationem**: *admiration of those things;* cf. p. 2, l. 2, *in eam mentionem* = *in eius rei mentionem.*

28. **si aliquem**: cf. p. 12, l. 32.

29. **Sic**, etc.: *such a way has nature of loving*, etc.

30. **semperque**: *but always;* for *-que* adversative, cf. p. 9, l. 23.

aliquod tamquam adminiculum: *some prop, so to speak; adminiculum* properly designates the stake used to support a grapevine.

31. **quod**: sc. *adminiculum*, in the figurative sense.

amicissimo quoque dulcissimum: *i.e.* is dear in proportion to the extent of the friendship.

CHAPTERS XXIV.-XXVI.

Friends must be absolutely frank with each other. Reproof must be administered, and must be endured. There can be no greater menace to friendship than flattery.

35. 3. **quae ab ea monemur**: = *her warnings*, viz. that friendship is indispensable; *quae* is Accusative of Result (Internal Object) retained in the passive.

audimus: *heed, listen to*, as p. 30, l. 10.

4. **usus amicitiae**: *experience in friendship.*

5. **multaeque**: *and consequently many.*

6. **quas**: sc. *suspiciones.*

tum . . . tum . . . tum: *now . . . now . . . now.*

7. **una illa subeunda offensio**: *the following vexation in particular must (however) be endured; illa* is explained by *nam et monendi*, etc.

ut retineatur: Clause of Purpose.

8. **et (monendi)**: this *et* is correlative with *et* before *haec accipienda.*

11. **in Andria**: the Andria ('The Woman of Andros') is an extant comedy of Terence, who lived from about 185 to 159 B.C.

familiaris meus: Terence.

13. **obsequium**, etc.: an iambic trimeter; see note on p. 26, l. 16. The metrical scheme is:

– ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑ – | – ‖ –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –.

The scansion is:

Obséqui | um ami | cos, vé | ritas | odiúm | parit.

For the iambus (◡ —), we find a dactyl in the first foot, a spondee in the third, and an anapest (◡ ◡ —) in the fifth.

15. **obsequium, quod sinit**: *a complaisance which allows.* Laelius does not mean that all *obsequium* is necessarily bad, only certain forms of it.

18. **in fraudem**: *to ruin.*

19. **habenda ratio et diligentia**: there is a slight zeugma here; *rationem habere* is a common phrase, but *diligentiam habere* is unknown; the Romans said *diligentiam adhibere.*

20. **monitio**: found only here in Cicero.

22. **comitas adsit, assentatio amoveatur**: the clause *comitas adsit*, though grammatically coördinate with *amoveatur*, is logically subordinate to it, — *though affability is to be present, yet let flattery be put aside.*

23. **quae est**: with distinct causal force, *since it is not worthy.*

24. **non modo**: for *non modo non;* when the sentence has but one predicate, and this stands with *ne . . . quidem* in the second member, *non modo* may be used for *non modo non.*

libero: *a gentleman;* cf. p. 34, l. 7, *liberaliter.*

25. **cum tyranno**: with a tyrant, flattery may have its excuse, but not with friends.

28. **illud Catonis**: *that well-known saying of Cato.*

ut multa: for *ut multa alia*, as often; cf. p. 1, l. 13. Cato's sayings were collected and published after his death.

melius de quibusdam mereri: *bene de aliquo mereri* means *to deserve well of some one*, *i.e.* to have done a service *to* some one; so here: *to certain men bitter enemies often do a greater service.*

30. **illos verum**: explicative asyndeton.

31. **illud**: explained by the clause *quod capiunt.*

36. 2. **peccasse se**: the infinitive depends upon *anguntur* as a *verbum sentiendi.*

3. **obiurgari moleste ferunt**: *se* would naturally be expressed as the subject of *obiurgari*, but is easily supplied from *peccasse se.*

4. **quod contra oportebat**: *whereas on the other hand* (lit. *against which*) *they ought; quod* is governed by *contra;* for the anastrophe, cf. Cato Maior, § 84, *quod contra decuit.*

6. **moneri**: *i.e.* to take advice.

7. **libere**: *frankly.*

8. **non aspere**: (*yet*) *without harshness.*

repugnanter: *resentfully.*

9. **sic**: correlative with the foregoing *ut.*

10. **adulationem, blanditiam, assentationem**: of these three designations, *adulatio*, 'fawning,' is the strongest; *blanditia* means the saying of pleasant things; *assentatio* is slavish agreement with the opinions of others. *Blanditia* occurs only rarely in the singular; ordinarily the form is *blanditiae.*

11. **quamvis enim multis nominibus**: *for under as many names as you will.*

12. **notandum**: *to be branded.*

ad: *with reference to.*

14. **omnium rerum**: *in all matters.*

15. **idque**: *id* refers to *veri.*

amicitiae: dative.

17. **valere non potest**: *can have no force.*

18. **sit in eo, ut unus**, etc.: *consists, so to speak, in the creation of one spirit out of several.*

19. **qui**: *how?*

uno . . . quōque: *each one.*

20. **unus animus idemque**: *one spirit and the same spirit;* the rendering 'one and the same spirit' would be misleading.

21. **multiplex**: *deceitful*, as p. 26, l. 30.

22. **flexibile**: *inconstant;* only here, apparently, in this sense.

devium: synonymous with *flexibile.*

24. **convertitur**: here in the middle sense, *turns* (lit. *turns himself*).

25. **Negat quis, nego**, etc.: *if a person says 'no,' I say 'no'; if he says 'yes,' I say 'yes.'* The lines are from the Eunuchus ('The Eunuch') of Terence, II, 2, 21. The metre is the trochaic septenarius, — seven trochees and the first syllable of an eighth. The metrical scheme is:

⏑́ ⏑ – | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | –́ – | – – ‖ –́ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | –́ ⏑ | –.
–́ ⏑ | – – | –́ –.

The scansion is:

**Négat quis | neg^{o} ait | áio | postre | m^{o} ímper | av^{i} ego | mét mi | hi.
Ómni^{a} | assen | tári.**

The anapaest (∪ ∪ —), spondee (— —), or tribrach (∪ ∪ ∪) is freely substituted for the trochee in any foot except the last.

postremo: *in short, in fine.*

26. **Omnia**: *in all things.*

27. **Gnathonis**: *of Gnatho*, a parasite.

persona: *the rôle, part.*

28. **quod amici genus**: *a kind of friend which.*

adhibere omnino: *to admit* (*to one's friendship*) *at all.*

29. **Multi autem Gnathonum similes cum sint**: *but inasmuch as many are like the Gnathos;* on the plural *Gnathonum*, used to represent a class, cf. p. 9, l. 24, *Paulos.*

30. **loco, fortuna, fama superiores**: *though superior in origin*, etc.

31. **vanitatem**: *emptiness, hollowness, insincerity.*

auctoritas: *influence.*

37. 2. **tam**: *i.e.* as easily.

adhibita diligentia: *by taking care.*

3. **sinceris, veris**: *sinceris* is contrasted with *fucata*, *veris* with *simulata.*

contio: *a* (*popular*) *gathering.*

5. **popularem**: *a demagogue.*

6. **inter**: in consequence of the intervening appositional phrase, the preposition is repeated for the sake of clearness.

7. **C. Papirius**: Gaius Papirius Carbo; see note on p. 17, l. 19.

influebat in auris: *i.e.* insinuated himself *into the favor* of the people.

8. **cum ferret legem**: *when he introduced a bill.*

de tribunis plebis reficiendis: in 137 B.C., Carbo, who was then tribune, introduced a proposition authorizing the reëlection of the same person to the office of tribune. Scipio spoke against the measure and defeated it.

9. **Dissuasimus nos**: *I argued against it;* note the 'editorial' *nos*, followed immediately by the return to the singular (*sed nihil de me*).

11. **ut facile . . . diceres**: *so that you involuntarily declared him leader*, etc.; the second singular with general force.

13. **est in manibus oratio**: *in circulation*, *i.e.* may still be read, as in Cato Maior, § 12. The phrase often has another mean-

ing, *e.g. in manibus habere*, 'to have in hand,' *i.e.* to be at work upon.

lex popularis, suffragiis populi: the contrast of *popularis* and *populi* is decidedly sarcastic.

15. **Q. Maximo**: see note on p. 28, l. 12.

16. **et**: ordinarily no conjunction is used to connect the names of consuls when the praenomen is expressed; here, however, the connective is necessitated by the intervening appositive.

quam videbatur: instead of the subjunctive of indirect question, we have the thought expressed with greater emphasis in the form of an explanation, *meministis* being parenthetical.

lex de sacerdotiis: by this bill it was proposed to abolish the right of the priestly colleges to fill vacancies in their own bodies, and to transfer this power to the people.

17. **C. Licini Crassi**: Crassus was tribune in 145 B.C.

18. **ad populi beneficium transferebatur**: *was being changed to a matter of public patronage* (Reid); *transferebatur* is used with conative force,—*the attempt was made to transfer.*

atque: *and further.*

19. **in forum versus**: the tribunes spoke from the Rostra, which at the time referred to was situated between the *forum* and the *comitium*. The patricians gathered in the *comitium*, the plebeians in the *forum*. Hence Crassus's innovation was in the nature of a bid for popular favor.

agere cum populo: the technical phrase to designate the official presentation of business to the people by a magistrate; cf. p. 2, l. 11.

20. **vendibilem**: *attractive*, *engaging*.

22. **praetore me**: Laelius was praetor in 145 B.C.

23. **re magis quam summa auctoritate**: *i.e.* by the merits of the case itself rather than by virtue of any supreme authority. The *summa auctoritas* belonged to the consul; Laelius was only praetor.

25. **in scaena, id est in contione**: *on the (public) stage, I mean in the popular assembly; scaena* in this sense is not uncommon.

26. **in qua**: referring to *scaena*.

rebus fictis et adumbratis: *pretence and misrepresentation; adumbrare* is primarily *to sketch in outline*, and so secondarily to represent imperfectly or to misrepresent, as here.

loci plurimum: *most scope* (Sidgwick).

28. **tota**: nominative.

29. **perpenditur**: lit. *weighed, i.e.* estimated, tested.

ut dicitur: indicating that *apertum pectus videre* is a proverbial expression; cf. p. 8, l. 19, *ut aiunt.*

31. **amare, amari**: in apposition with *nihil.*

32. **Quamquam**: corrective, — *and yet.*

33. 1. **quamvis perniciosa sit**: *however baneful it be.*

3. **patefaciat aures**: the English idiom is 'to lend an ear.'

5. **Omnino**: somewhat concessive, and correlative with the following *autem*, — *to be sure . . . but.*

6. **quamque**: =*et quam.*

7. **de virtutis opinione**: *of fancied virtue.*

9. **videri**: sc. *praediti esse.*

10. **his adhibetur**: *is directed at these.*

12. **laudum suarum**: *of their own merits.*

Nulla: emphatic by position, — *no friendship at all;* cf. p. 34, l. 6, *vitam esse nullam.*

haec: explained by the following *cum*-clauses.

15. **nisi essent milites gloriosi**: *unless there were braggart soldiers;* the *miles gloriosus* was a stock figure of the Roman comedy, and there are many scenes in which the flattery of the parasite and the braggadocio of his master are cleverly depicted. The best-known examples of the type are Pyrgopolinīces in Plautus's Miles Gloriosus and Thraso in Terence's Eunūchus.

17. **Magnas vero agere**, etc.: this line is spoken by Thraso in the Eunuchus, III, 1, 1. He has sent his mistress, Thais, a present, and inquires of Gnatho, his parasite, how she has received it. The infinitive *agere* is exclamatory. The verse is an iambic trimeter (see note on p. 26, l. 16). The metrical scheme is:

— ∠ | — ∪ ∪ | ∪ ∠ | ∪ — | ∪ ∠ | ∪ —.

The scansion is:

Magnás | ver° age | re grá | tias | Thaís | mihi.

Note the spondee used for the iambus in the first foot, and the dactyl in the second.

18. **inquit**: sc. *Gnatho.*

22. **allectant**: *court.*

graviores constantioresque: *those of stronger and steadier character.*

25. **nemo non videt**: *no one fails to see.*

28. **quippe qui**: *since he.*

29. **det manus**: *surrenders.*

39. 1. **plus vidisse**: *to have had the deeper insight, i.e.* into the matter under discussion.

2. **ut ne**: on *ut ne*, see note on p. 18, l. 13.

magis: sc. *quo turpius est.*

3. **Ut me hodie**, etc.: *well surely you have cheated and made sport of me to-day most richly, beyond all other old men who figure in comedy;* the subjunctive with *ut* often occurs in such expressions as this, dependent, perhaps, upon something to be supplied, *e.g.* 'it has been brought about' (*factum est*), or something similar; *verso* is here used in the figurative sense of turning a man about one's finger; *inlusseris* with *ss* represents the archaic spelling, which, as inscriptions show, was still in vogue in Cicero's day in many words which we ordinarily spell with one *s*, *e.g. ussus, divissio, caussa,* etc. The two verses are from a lost play, the Epiclērus ('The Heiress'), by Caecilius Statius, a Roman comic poet who lived from about 220 to 166 B.C., and of whose works only fragments remain. The metre of the lines is iambic trimeter. Their metrical structure will be apparent from a comparison with p. 26, l. 16, and p. 35, l. 12. Cicero quotes the words *comicos stultos senes* also in Cato Maior, § 36.

5. **etiam in fabulis**: as well as in real life.

persona: as p. 2, l. 22.

6. **improvidorum et credulorum senum**: the genitive is appositional, and explanatory of *persona.*

7. **perfectorum**: *complete.*

8. **de hac sapientia**, etc.: as opposed to the impossible ideal of the Stoics; see p. 8, l. 10, *eam sapientiam interpretantur quam adhuc mortalis nemo consecutus est.*

in hominem cadere: *to fall to the lot of man;* cf. p. 20, l. 10.

10. **ad illa prima**: viz. that friendship can subsist only between the good, as stated, p. 8, l. 5.

11. **aliquando**: *at length.*

CHAPTER XXVII.

In closing, Laelius again emphasizes the indispensableness of virtue as a basis for friendship, and closes with a lofty tribute to the character of Scipio.

12. **C. Fanni, Q. Muci**: the full names are in accordance with the great earnestness of the speaker.

14. **convenientia rerum**: *harmony.*

15. **quae**: viz. *virtus.*

18. **ex quo**: *in consequence of which.*

19. **dictum est**: *are called, named.*

20. **nulla indigentia**: *without any sense of want;* Ablative of Attendant Circumstance; *quaesita* belongs only with *utilitate.*

21. **quae**: viz. *utilitas.*

ipsa: *of its own accord.*

22. **minus** = *non.*

23. **senes illos**: *those famous old men.*

24. **Paulum, Catonem, Galum**: see note on p. 4, l. 21.

Nasicam: P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum, son-in-law of the elder Africanus. He was consul in 162 and 155 B.C.

25. **Ti. Gracchum**: father of the Gracchi, and, like Nasica, son-in-law of the elder Africanus.

26. **aequales**: *men of the same age.*

27. **Furium, Rupilium, Mummium**: see notes on p. 28, l. 10 f.

29. **acquiescimus**: *i.e.* find rest and solace.

Tuberonis: see note on p. 16, l. 13.

30. **Rutili**: Publius Rutilius Rufus, a famous jurist, pupil of P. Mucius Scaevola. In philosophy he studied under the Stoic Panaetius.

31. **Vergini**: Aulus Verginius, another jurist.

ratio: *plan.*

40. 1. **alia ex alia aetas oriatur**: *one generation after another is (ever) springing up.*

3. **e carceribus emissus sis, ad calcem pervenire**: the comparison is borrowed from the race-course; *carceres* were the stalls at the end of the course from which the chariots started; the *calx* (lit. *lime*) was a chalk-line marking the limit of the race; *emittere*

(lit. *to let go*) was the technical expression for starting the chariots. Notice the apologetic expressions, *tamquam* and *ut dicitur*, used to soften the metaphor, as frequently. With the whole expression, cf. the closely similar passage in the Cato Maior, § 83, *nec vero velim quasi decurso spatio ad carceres a calce revocari.*

10. **virtutem**: emphatic, — *'twas the character of that man, that I loved.*

11. **quae**: *and that.*

12. **in manibus habui**: *I have had it at hand;* here we have yet a third sense in which the phrase *in manibus habere* occurs. For the two others, see note on p. 37, l. 13.

14. **maiora**: *i.e.* any very great enterprises.

19. **rerum privatarum**: *concerning private matters.*

20. **in eadem**: *in that too.*

21. **ne quidem**: used, as often, to take up and intensify a preceding negative.

quod quidem senserim: *so far at least as I noticed;* Clause of Characteristic, with restrictive force.

23. **idem victus**: *the same mode of life.*

26. **cognoscendi atque discendi**, and (l. 28) **recordatio et memoria**: for the synonyms, cf. p. 14, l. 25.

31. **nec**: *on the one hand . . . not;* correlative with *et* before *si* ('and on the other').

aluntur que: *-que* here has adversative force, — *are not blotted out, but are rather fostered.*

41. 1. **illis**: on the ablative plural neuter used substantively, see note on p. 14, l. 15.

affert: the apodosis corresponding to *si orbatus essem* would naturally stand in the imperfect subjunctive, but the anacoluthon, by stating the conclusion as a fact, adds vividness to the passage.

aetas ipsa: *my very age.*

2. **Diutius**: (*not*) *very long.*

5. **Haec habui quae dicerem**: *I had this to say;* Relative Clause of Purpose; cf. the similar close of the Cato Maior, *Haec habui quae de senectute dicerem.*

6. **ita virtutem locetis**: *i.e.* give it so important a place.

CRITICAL APPENDIX[1]

The standard critical edition of the de Amicitia is that by C. F. W. Müller in the Teubner edition of Cicero's works (Leipsic, 1879). Müller's edition was based upon the following Mss.:

Gudianus (G).

2 Monacenses (BS), at Munich.

2 Vindobonenses (DV), at Vienna.

Erfurtensis (E), at Erfurt.

Parisinus (P), in the possession of Bernard Quaritch, Esq., of London.

Since the publication of Müller's edition the following new Ms. material has become available:

Harleianus 2682, in the British Museum.

2 Cornelliani (CK), in the Library of Cornell University at Ithaca, whose existence was not known to me until my own text had been given to the printer. At the earliest opportunity I shall publish an account of these Mss.

P is regarded by Müller as the best Ms., but it is questionable whether he does not overrate its worth.

In the Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik, vol. 135, p. 545, Dr. Carl Meissner has ably discussed a number of the more difficult problems of the text. Several of the readings proposed by him are so plausible that I have adopted them.

1. 16. permultis: Müller reads *forte multis*. The Mss. have *tum fere multis*, which several editors retain. With that reading *fere* must be taken with *tum*. But it is difficult to see the appropriateness of any such modifier of *tum* in this context; the addition of *fere* to *tum* hinders rather than helps the thought. I have

[1] This appendix is devoted chiefly to a discussion of the passages (some forty in number) where I have deviated from the text of Müller.

therefore adopted the conjecture of Schiche and Strelitz,[1] *permultis*. This seems to me superior to Müller's conjecture, *forte multis;* in point of sense it is more natural, and paleographically it is easier. The Greek translation of Petavius (Paris, 1653) has ὃς (sc. λόγος) *καὶ πολλοῖς τηνικαῦτα διὰ στόματος ἦν.*

4. 26. **utroque vestrum**: Mss. GBSVE have this reading; PD have *utroque*, followed by Müller, and all recent editors except Reid. To omit *vestrum* would be to concede more authority to P than it seems to me we are justified in attaching to that Ms.

6. 12. **qui non tum hoc, tum illud, uti plerique**: Müller gives the Ms. reading here: *qui non tum hoc, tum illud, ut in plerisque*, and marks the passage as corrupt. In this attitude he is probably correct, as the omission of the verb of saying with *qui* is unparalleled. Some scholars defend the ellipsis, comparing such stereotyped phrases as p. 1, l. 10, *sed de hoc alias*. But such comparisons do not seem to me to furnish the necessary support for the omission of *dicebat* in the passage before us. Gulielmius suggested *cui* for *qui* and made this depend upon *videbatur* to be supplied from *videbatur* below, changing also *ut in plerisque* to *uti plerisque*. This conjecture has met with much favor, but it can hardly be pronounced less violent than the proposal to understand *dicebat*. Those who retain *ut in plerisque*, 'as in most matters,' explain it as referring to Socrates's habit of assuming a position now on one side of a subject, now on the other, for the sake of argument. But as Deiter well remarks (Bursian's Jahresbericht, vol. 84, p. 79), Socrates was not so vacillating that in most cases he held now this view, now that. The contrast is drawn rather between the views of Socrates and the views of others touching the nature of the human soul. Hence Deiter himself had conjectured *ut plerique*, a reading found, according to Ramorino (Rivista di Filologia, XV, 261), in a Milan Ms. collated by him. The conjecture *uti plerique* is Strelitz's; I have adopted it as being slightly nearer the Mss.

10. 31. **atque discordiis**: Müller reads *atque ex discordiis*. The Ms. authority for *ex*, however, is slight, and the repetition of the preposition is unusual where synonyms are combined.

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[1] Schiche's text was published first, but Strelitz had independently hit upon the same conjecture.

percipi: this is the Ms. reading. Müller reads *perspici* after Madvig. But *percipi* is used frequently in the sense demanded by the context. For instances, see Merguet, Lexikon zu den philosophischen Schriften Ciceros. Of recent editors, Reid, Schiche, Nauck, and Monet read *percipi*.

11. 21. **qua**: this is the reading of all the Mss. except P, which reads *quae*, adopted by Müller. It is perfectly true that *quae* is as common or commoner in Cicero than *qua* as an indefinite pronoun (see Neue, Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache[3], II, p. 467); yet *qua* is frequent, and in the present passage seems to have decidedly the stronger support.

15. 18. **perducti essent**: this is Meissner's conjecture. Müller, following the Mss., reads *perduxissent*. Meissner defends his conjecture in Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik, vol. 135, p. 553 f. If we read *perduxissent*, he points out that not only is there a violent change of subject in the two successive verbs (*ponerentur* and *perduxissent*), but it is also necessary to supply an object (*amores*) with *perduxissent*; the subject is again violently changed with *dirimi* (sc. *amores*). Stylistically Meissner's conjecture is a great improvement, while paleographically it is extremely simple and plausible.

17. 4. **memoriam**: Müller follows P and reads *memoria*, in which he is followed by all recent editors except Reid. Editors defend *memoria* by citing Cato quoted by Gellius, XIV, 2, 26, *Atque ego a maioribus memoria sic accepi*; and Cic. de Nat. Deo. II, 37, 95, *accepissent autem fama et auditione esse quoddam numen et vim deorum*. But these cases are different; in the passage from Cato, *accepi* is completed by *sic*; in the passage from the de Nat. Deo. the verb has a direct object in the infinitive. In the Laelius passage we are called upon to accept *accipere* alone in the same use.

18. 2. **quoquo**: the reading of C (and earlier editors). P has *quoque*; the other Mss. *quoque quem*. Müller reads *quocumque*.

5. **Serpit clam ea res**: the Mss. give *Serpit deinde res*, which Müller reads and marks as corrupt. My reading follows the conjecture of Deiter (Bursian's Jahresbericht, vol. 84, p. 79). The confusion of initial *cl* with *d* is easy and of frequent occurrence in Mss.; *m* also might easily become *in*, so that paleographically Deiter's conjecture (*dain ea* > *deinde*) is very plausible.

15. **in magna aliqua re**: P has *in magna aliqua rep̄;* the other Mss., *in magnā aliquā rē p.*, *i.e. magnam aliquam rem p.* (excepting V, which omits *p.*). Müller reads *in magna aliqua re publica;* other editors consider the *p.* a dittography of the initial *p* of *peccantibus*. This view has seemed to me the more probable, as it has to most recent editors, — Halm, Baiter, Lahmeyer, Nauck, Schiche, Meissner, Strelitz, Novák, Monet. I am influenced more by the extreme rarity of the expression *res publica* in the sense of 'a public matter' than by any other consideration. The text used by Petavius, however, evidently had *re publica*. His translation is: *ἐν μεγάλῳ τινὶ κατὰ τῆς πολιτείας.*

32. **futura sit**: the reading of all Mss. except PE, which omit *sit*. Halm, Reid, Meissner, Novák, read *futura sit*. Editors who omit *sit* cite no parallel.

19. 4. **consilium verum**: this is the Ms. reading. Müller and nearly all recent editors change *verum* to *vero*. Reid, however, ably defends the reading *verum*, citing Horace, Satires II, 3, 16, *di te, Damasippe, deaeque verum ob consilium donent tonsore;* Curtius VI, 10, 26, *fides amicitiae, veri consilii periculosa libertas.* He further urges the interruption of the asyndetic construction of the passage consequent upon reading *vero*. Petavius translates *τἀληθῆ ξυμβουλεύοντες.*

21. 6. **tam trahat**: this is the Ms. reading. Müller and most editors arbitrarily change this to *attrahat;* in defence of the Ms. reading Reid cites Horace, Satires, II, 6, 75, *quidve ad amicitias, usus rectumne, trahat nos.*

19. **utilitatis causa**: this is the reading of all Mss. except PE, which have *utilitatum*. Müller reads *utilitatum*, and is followed in this by most recent editors. Reid and Lahmeyer have *utilitatis*. This seems to me to deserve the preference, not only on Ms. grounds, but also because *utilitatis causa* is a stock phrase in Cicero's discussions of ethical problems; *utilitatum causa* nowhere occurs.

22. 15. **ferunt, tum exsulantem**: this is the Ms. reading, and is followed by most recent editors, — Lahmeyer, Reid, Nauck, Strelitz, Schiche, Monet. Müller, following Madvig's conjecture, reads *ferunt exsulantem, tum*. I can see no adequate grounds for altering the Ms. reading.

29. **sperni ab eis veteres amicitias, indulgeri novis**: Müller,

after Mommsen, brackets these words, which are lacking in P, but the passage has a genuine Ciceronian character, and ought, in my judgment, to be regarded as sound.

23. 16. **faciat**: the Mss., followed by Müller, read *facit.* But *faciat* is almost a syntactical necessity here, as is recognized by Halm, Baiter, Meissner, Strelitz, Tücking, Novák. At p. 24, l. 3, where the same sentence again occurs, all Mss. have *faciat.*

24. 9. **inducat in spem**: in support of the insertion of *in*, which no existing Ms. has, may be cited Petavius's translation, *εἰς τὸ ἄμεινον ἐλπίζειν.*

25. 28. **amicitiis**: CDK have *amicitiis;* EV, *amicitia;* PMG, *amicitias;* BS, *amiticias.* Petavius evidently followed a text or Ms. which read *amicitiis;* his translation is *ἵνα . . . ταῖς φιλίαις χρησώμεθα.*

32. **Sint vero aliqui reperti**: the Mss. vary considerably here. MGBSV have *sin vero erunt*, P has *sinuerunt*, DE have *sin erunt.* As the Latinity of *sin vero* is questionable for Cicero's writings, Müller reads *sin erunt.* My reading follows H 2682.

26. 18. **aut in bonis**: the Mss. have *aut si in bonis*, followed by Müller and all other editors except Meissner. I follow him in rejecting *si*, and consequently in putting a colon after *convincunt.*

24. **constantiaeque eius, quam in amicitia quaerimus, fides est**: this is my conjecture for the Ms. reading *constantiaeque est eius, quam in amicitia quaerimus, fides*, which puts *est* in a most unnatural position. It is much simpler to believe that in the archetype *est* had fallen out after *fides* (at the end of a line ?) and was then wrongly inserted after *constantiaeque.* In C *constantiaeque* and *fides* both stand at the end of the line.

27. 32. **Quin in ipso**: the Mss. vary. P reads *qui in;* GBESV, *quin et in;* D, *atqui in.* Müller reads *quin ipso.* But the sense of the passage makes *in* indispensable (see Meissner, Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik, 135, p. 555). My text follows Schiche's conjecture. Meissner himself reads *In ipso.* But his plea that Cicero would not have used *quin* twice in such close environment can hardly have weight in face of the overwhelming Ms. evidence in favor of that word in the present passage. Peta-

vius translates, *καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ ἵππῳ*. Schiche's conjecture now receives confirmation from the reading of C, *q̃n in ipso*.[1]

29. 14. **opera**: the Mss., followed by Müller, have *opere;* and so all editors except Reid, who rightly urges that *opera* is here demanded by the sense.

31. **Dispares enim mores disparia studia sequuntur**: Müller puts a comma after *mores*, and takes both nouns (used as synonyms) as the subject of *sequuntur*. With most recent editors I remove the comma and interpret the sentence as explained in the commentary.

30. 23. **solvendae**: I follow Novák's conjecture. The Mss. have *eluendae* (C *elevandae*), followed by Müller and all other editors. But *eluere*, 'to wash out,' is nowhere used of such things as *amicitia*, — only of blood, disgrace, ignominy, etc. The corruption of *solvendae* to *eluendae* would have been perfectly natural. We have only to assume the haplography of *ss* and the change of *o* to *e*. With the expression, cf. *amicitias dissolveret*, p. 14, l. 31.

31. 2. **Nihil enim est**: this is the reading of all Mss. except M, which has *nihil est enim*, adopted by Müller.

7. **at cum bonitate**: the Mss. give *auctoritate* followed by Müller. I have adopted Meissner's conjecture, which is not merely paleographically simple, but yields excellent sense.

11. **oppressae esse**: this is the reading of all Mss. except M, which omits *esse*. Müller follows M.

16. **non is**: Müller here omits *is* by an oversight.

33. 17. **deligendis**: the Mss. give *diligendis;* so Müller and most editors; but *et . . . et* seems to indicate that we have not synonymous expressions to deal with. Petavius evidently had a Ms. or edition which read *deligendis*, for his translation is *ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκλογῆς καὶ θεραπείας*.

35. 7. **subeunda**: Madvig's conjecture for *sublevanda* of the Mss. followed by Müller. Even Müller's elaborate note in defence of the Ms. reading (Seyffert-Müller, p. 511) does not persuade me

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[1] I read this *q̃n* as *quin* (despite the fact that the recognized abbreviation for *quin* is *qn*), owing to the recurrence of the same abbreviation at § 68 fin. *q̃n locis ipsis*, where all other Mss. have *quin* (E *qui in*), long since corrected to *cum* (Mü. *quom*).

to accept his reading; for the expression *offensio subeunda*, cf. Pliny, Epp. iv. 7. 11, *subire offensas*.

37. 6. **et severum**: Müller here follows MGDE which have *severum;* BCSV have *et severum*, the reading adopted by Halm, Baiter, Meissner, Novák. Inasmuch as *constantem*, *severum*, and *gravem* are independent and equal modifiers of *civem*, *et* cannot properly be omitted here.

10. **illi**: MGD, followed by Müller, have *illa;* PBCESV have *illi*, adopted by Nauck, Reid, Novák, Monet. The position of the pronoun, as well as the sense of the passage, seems to me to be against Müller's reading.

12. **[non comitem]**: bracketed by Graevius as an interpolation from § 37, *nec se comitem illius furoris, sed ducem praebuit.*

40. 1. **alia ex alia**: *ex alia* is Orelli's emendation; I follow Müller in accepting it. But it evidently antedates Orelli by several centuries. Petavius translates ἄλλην ἐξ ἄλλης.

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